IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

BALTIC DISSIDENTS

OCTOBER 6, 1987

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PUBLIC HEARING ON BALTIC DISSIDENTS

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1987

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
Washington, DC.

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, in room 2247, Rayburn House Office Building, at 10:08 a.m., Representative Steny H. Hoyer, chairman, and Senator Dennis DeConcini, cochairman, presiding.

In attendance: Commissioners, Representatives Bill Richardson, Edward Feighan, John Edward Porter and Senator Frank Lautenberg. Representative John R. Miller participated.

Also in attendance: Mary Sue Hafner, deputy staff director and general counsel; Jane S. Fisher, senior staff consultant; and John Finerty, coordinator.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN HOYER

Chairman HOYER. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

My name is Steny Hoyer, Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This hearing is being called to give the Commission an overview on human rights in the Baltic States.

Senator DeConcini, the Cochairman of the Commission, will be joining us very shortly, and hopefully other members will be able to attend as well.

It has been 47 years since Josef Stalin's troops marched into the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 47 years under Soviet rule for three nations which had enjoyed independence for only 20 years following World War I.

All of us here are familiar with the facts of the invasion and occupation. I am proud to reiterate and emphasize that the U.S. Government has never recognized this blatant violation of international law.

The Soviet Government now insists that its occupation of the Baltic States was historically justified, consonant with the will of the population. Soviet authorities, of course, never mention the Baltic Freedom Fighters whose struggle lasted well into the 1950's.

National feelings and longings for independence are supposedly leftovers from the bourgeois past. The younger generation, says Moscow, no longer cares about the old days, about history, about the national identity of these three nations.

But when I look over there at the photo of the Latvian people who gathered on August 23 in Riga, I see countless young people who seem to outnumber their elders. I think of the young Estonian men who have been sentenced to labor camps for raising the flag of

free Estonia on public buildings or the young Lithuanians actively involved in the Catholic Church and the flourishing religious Samizdat.

And I conclude that the Soviet Government is deceiving itself, or as so often is the case attempting to deceive others, if it believes that the Baltic aspirations for freedom and independence are dead.

It is still unclear how all the changes now underway in the Soviet Union will affect the Baltic countries. We note that the General Secretary took a very hard line on nationalism during his visit to Tallinn in February of this year. Several well known Baltic human rights activists continue to languish in the Gulag, and the recent demonstrations in the Baltic capitals saw police violence in Riga, retributions against the organizers in Vilnius, and the expulsion of the leading organizer in Tallinn, who is, as you know, sitting with us today.

On the other hand, we also take note that these public demonstrations were permitted in the first place, and there are other positive signs. Officially recognized Baltic writers and historians have been more outspoken in their criticism of Moscow-imposed censorship of national and historical issues. Even the Central Press has begun to admit that mistakes have been made with regard to the treatment of the Baltic people and of the Baltic history.

The Helsinki Commission is pleased to welcome to these hearings three men whose struggle for human rights in their own country has put them in the forefront of the entire Baltic question.

Mr. Madisson was first arrested in connection with the cases of two other prominent Estonian dissidents, Mr. Niklus and Mr. Kukk.

Our Latvian guest, Mr. Silaraups, was a member of the Latvian human rights group "Helsinki '86."

And our third witness, Mr. Skuodis, is an American citizen and also a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

The Helsinki accords obligate all signatory states to respect the rights and self-determination of peoples. We look forward to hearing from our witnesses and would assure them that we reiterate at every opportunity we have to meet with anybody where the question is raised with respect to the United States intention in signing the Helsinki Final Act, that it was not then, nor is it now the intent of that act, with the provision not to change national borders by force, in any way a recognition of the legal status of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as part of the Soviet Union.

Indeed, it is the United States position, and the position which this Commission shares, that these three Baltic nations are independent, occupied nations.

I want to thank the witnesses and, indeed, all of those who have fought for this hearing so that we can focus on this most important issue, and at this time I would like to introduce for such comments as he would like to make, the distinguished Cochairman of the Commission, the Senator from Arizona, Senator Dennis DeConcini.

STATEMENT OF COCHAIRMAN DENNIS DeCONCINI

Senator DeCONCINI. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much and, to the witnesses that are here, we appreciate your participation today with us in this very important hearing.

Much attention is being paid to the Soviet Union and Secretary Gorbachev. Glasnost has almost become a household word, at least in this country. What it means is something that we do not know for sure.

Does it really mean substantive human rights performance, a change in the attitude? Will glasnost apply to the Baltics is a question that is unknown as yet.

The treatment of the people of the Soviet Union occupied Baltic States has been a blatant violation of human rights for the past 47 years. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been victimized by the Kremlin for decades and have seen their national rights dissolve as a result of an agreement signed by two of the worst dictators the world has ever known, Stalin and Hitler.

As Chairman Hoyer notes, this agreement has never been recognized by the United States nor, I should add, should by most of the democracies in Europe. They have never recognized this agreement.

What will glasnost mean to the citizens of the Baltics? On August 23, 1987, the anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed which ceded the Baltics to the Soviet Union. Public demonstrations were allowed in the three capitals of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It is reported that more than 5,000 people gathered in Riga to sign and lay flowers at the Riga Monument to Freedom.

In Tallinn, Estonians established a committee to press for a memorial to the victims of Stalin, and in Vilnius, an estimated 500 persons gathered in the historic old town and sang Lithuanian national anthems.

There is a spirit there. There is no question in my mind. The demonstrations were allowed, and this is certainly a breakthrough. However, as the violence in Riga and the subsequent harassment by the police of some of the demonstrators from all three capitals illustrated, there has been a price to pay for this little breakthrough.

A Riga TV reporter has been fired from his job for criticizing the way the police handled the situation. Several demonstrators were reported detained by the police, and some have been apparently fired from their jobs.

So we still have a long way to go. I think that is very clear. Is this what glasnost means for the citizens of the Baltics, demonstrations but only for a very high price?

For decades the peoples of these countries have been imprisoned for attempting to exercise the most basic of human freedoms, the right to preserve their national culture, practice their religion, the right to emigrate, the right to freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

In short, the people of the Baltics are simply asking that Moscow honor the commitment to which they agreed in Helsinki. Central to these commitments are Principles VII and VIII of the Helsinki

Accord which speak to a respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as to the self-determination of people.

We are about to hear from three distinguished witnesses that the Chairman has outlined. All three have spent time in the Soviet labor camps for defending their rights, and my heart beats fast for people who have witnessed this kind of deprivation and cruelty, and I am very pleased, Mr. Chairman, that you have led this oversight commission, the Helsinki Commission of the Congress, to listen to these witnesses today.

I regret that due to a Judiciary Committee meeting this morning, prior to our official meeting this afternoon, that I will not be able to stay for the entire hearing.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator DeConcini.

I want to say to those of you who have had the opportunity of attending the Commission hearings over the past year, I know how faithful Senator DeConcini has been in participation, notwithstanding the fact that a couple of the committees on which he serves have been meeting almost around the clock. And of course, the Judiciary Committee's hearing on Judge Bork has been going on almost continuously for the last 3 weeks, and we certainly very much appreciate his being here this morning.

Our first witness is Tiit Madisson. Mr. Madisson was born in Tallinn, Estonia. He was first arrested by the KGB in 1980 in connection with the cases of fellow dissidents Mart Niklus and Uri Kukk.

In 1981, he was sentenced to 4 years labor camp and 2 years internal exile. He was released from his term in 1986.

Following his organization of the demonstration in Tallinn on August 23, 1987, Mr. Madisson was expelled from the Soviet Union, a testimony to perhaps what glasnost is and is not. He now resides in Sweden.

With him is Mari-Ann Rikken, who will be interpreting. Mrs. Rikken is vice president of the Estonian-American National Council, and she resides in Arlington, VA.

We appreciate Mr. Madisson's being with us.

STATEMENT OF TIIT MADISSON

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. I am extremely happy to have an opportunity to testify in front of the U.S. Congress and particularly thankful to Mr. Hoyer and to Mr. DeConcini for inviting Baltic resistance movement people to testify here both about crude current conditions in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as well as the future, which bodes promise and also problems for the Baltic people.

Chairman HOYER. Before Mr. Madisson proceeds, let me introduce to him and to the rest of the audience Congressman Bill Richardson from New Mexico, one of our most faithful members of the Commission. Mr. Richardson and I returned from Bulgaria and Romania just recently, and we will be going to Vienna on Thursday, where we will be meeting with the Soviets on Friday, and from there we will be going to East Germany.

Mr. Richardson is one of our most active members on the Commission.

Mr. Madisson.

Mrs. RIKKEN. Thank you.

I will read prepared remarks for presentation here. Mr. Madisson has submitted a longer statement to be included as part of the record of this hearing, including lists of people who are currently detained by the Soviets for having taking nationalistic, human rights or religious rights stands and are being punished therefore. Also, in his longer remarks, he alludes to problems perceived by the human rights movement concerning deportations from the United States to the Soviet Union of alleged war criminals.

Chairman HOYER. Without objection, his full statement and lists will be included in the record at this time.

[The prepared statement of Tiit Madisson, with attachments, follow:]

TESTIMONY OF TIIT MADISSON
IN THE
UNITED STATES CONGRESS
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
OCTOBER 6, 1987

ON THE 23RD OF AUGUST, 1987, THE OFFICIAL SOVIET VERSION OF HISTORY PERTAINING TO ESTONIA COLLAPSED UPON ITSELF. THE DEMONSTRATION IN TALLINN ON AUGUST 23, 1987 WAS AN EVENT OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE IN POST-WAR ESTONIAN HISTORY, IN BOTH THE QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE SENSE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN FORTY-THREE YEARS OF TOTALITARIAN RULE, A PUBLICLY PLANNED MASS DEMONSTRATION DEALING WITH THE KEY ISSUES OF THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE'S DESTINY TOOK PLACE. THIS WAS NOTHING LESS THAN THE BEGINNING OF MULTI-DIMENSIONAL, GENUINE, SELF-INITIATED SOCIAL-POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT DESPITE THE PASSAGE OF NEARLY HALF A CENTURY, THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE WILL NOT FORGET INJUSTICE, VIOLENCE AND FALSEHOODS. FORTY-THREE YEARS OF ACTIVELY DISTORTING THE TRUTH HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN MAKING A SINGLE THINKING PERSON ACCEPT THE SOVIET VERSION OF THE POST-WAR SYSTEM IN ESTONIA.

THE "ESTONIAN GROUP FOR PUBLICATION OF THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT" (MRP-AEG), WAS FORMED ON AUGUST 15, 1987 BY SEVEN INDIVIDUALS: CHAIRMAN AND REPRESENTATIVE TIIT MADISSON, HEIKI AHONEN, LAGLE PAREK, JAN KORB, MATI KIIREND, ILSE HEINSALU, AND JURI MIKK. THE FIRST FIVE ARE FORMER POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE PRIMARY AIM OF THE MRP-AEG WAS TO CREATE AN ESTONIAN MOVEMENT TO SEEK THE PUBLICATION AND RENUNCIATION OF THE 1939 SECRET AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND NAZI GERMANY.

SINCE THERE WAS NO HOPE THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES WOULD PUBLISH THE ENTIRE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, INCLUDING ITS SECRET PROTOCOLS DIVIDING EASTERN EUROPE INTO "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE", THE MRP-AEG DECIDED TO CALL FOR MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IN TALLINN, THE CAPITAL OF SOVIET-OCCUPIED ESTONIA, ON AUGUST 23, 1987, THE 48TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE PACT.

IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS SUPPORTING THIS UNDERTAKING WERE THE SUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE 14TH OF JUNE IN RIGA, LATVIA, THE CRIMEAN TARTERS' PROTESTS IN MOSCOW, AND THE FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE THAT HAD DEVELOPED IN ESTONIA ITSELF. (THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1987 HAVE SEEN ACTIVE PROTESTS AGAINST ENVIRONMENTALLY DANGEROUS PHOSPATE MINING IN ESTONIA, AND 30-40 INDEPENDENT ESTONIAN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN FORMED). AND FINALLY, THERE WAS THE IMPORTANT MATTER OF BALTIC SOLIDARITY. WE IN TALLINN COULD NOT BETRAY THIS JOINT BALTIC ENDEAVOR. WE SENSED THAT A HISTORICAL MOMENT WAS UPON US.

ON THE 15TH OF AUGUST, MRP-AEG CALLED UPON THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE TO ASSEMBLE IN THE SQUARE IN FRONT OF TALLINN'S CITY HALL ON THE 23RD OF AUGUST AT NOON. SIMULTANEOUSLY, I NOTIFIED THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF THE MRP-AEG'S PLANS.

BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD BETWEEN CITY AND STATE OFFICIALS. THE OFFICIALS WOULD NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR A DEMONSTRATION ON CITY HALL SQUARE, SUGGESTING HIRVE PARK AS AN ALTERNATIVE SITE. MRP-AEG AGREED TO THE CHANGE IN LOCATION, AND HAD TO RELY ON WORD-OF-MOUTH TO ANNOUNCE THE DEMONSTRATION ITSELF, AS WELL AS THE NEW LOCATION.

ON SATURDAY, THE 22ND OF AUGUST, BOTH NATIONWIDE TELEVISION AND THE CENTRAL PRESS REACTED VEHEMENTLY TO THE PLANS FOR THE DEMONSTRATION, PORTRAYING THESE PLANS AS EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND AS FASCIST FABRICATIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, A LETTER FROM TWENTY UNITED STATES SENATORS ADDRESSED TO MR. GORBACHEV AND THE PARTY BOSSES OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES, AND REPORTS OF BALTIC EXILES PLANNING ACTIONS IN SOLIDARITY WITH US GAVE US HOPE THAT THIS ENDEAVOUR MIGHT SUCCEED.

SEVERAL THOUSAND PEOPLE GATHERED ON CITY HALL SQUARE ON AUGUST 23, AND THEN MOVED PEACEFULLY ALONG THE CITY STREETS TO THE NEW SITE OF HIRVE PARK. SOME PARTICIPANTS CARRIED PLACARDS CALLING FOR PUBLICATION OF THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, EXPOSURE OF STALIN'S CRIMES, AND RELEASE OF ESTONIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS. IT TOOK AT LEAST TEN MINUTES FOR THE FLOW OF PEOPLE TO PASS. WORD OF A CONCURRENT HUNGER STRIKE BY YOUNG BALTIC-AMERICANS AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON HELPED BOOST OUR MORALE. PEOPLE BROUGHT FLOWERS AND LIT CANDLES IN MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS OF STALINIST TERROR.

AT HIRVE PARK, THE CROWD CONTINUED TO GROW. I DELIVERED THE OPENING SPEECH, WHICH OUTLINED THE GENESIS OF THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT AND DESCRIBED ITS CONSEQUENCES. MENTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SECESSION BROUGHT ONE OF THE MOST VIGOROUS OVATIONS FROM THE CROWD. ACCURATE FIGURES ABOUT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE ARRESTED, PUT TO DEATH AND DEPORTED DURING THE INITIAL YEARS OF SOVIET POWER STUNNED THE LISTENERS. THESE FIGURES HAE NEVER BEEN RELEASED IN ESTONIA. THE DEMAND THAT STALINIST AS WELL AS NAZI CRIMINALS BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE WAS RECEIVED BY LISTERNERS WITH ANOTHER STRONG ROUND OF APPLAUSE. SIXTY-TWO PERSONS JOINED A NEW GROUP CALLING FOR THE ERECTION OF A MONUMENT DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF VICTIMS OF STALIN IN ESTONIA.

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT EVERYTHING WOULD HAVE GONE SO UNEXPECTEDLY SMOOTHLY IF DEMONSTRATIONS HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, IF THE INTERNATIONAL MASS MEDIA HAD NOT DEVOTED AS MUCH ATTENTION TO THE FATE OF THE BALTICS PEOPLE.

THE DEMONSTRATION WAS NOTED THAT EVENING BY THE OFFICIAL

PRESS AGENCY. HOWEVER, THE NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS WAS REPORTED AS A MERE 200-300 AND THE EVENT ITSELF WAS ATTACKED AND DISCREDITED IN TRUE STALINIST FASHION. THE FOLLOWING TWO WEEKS SAW A FULL-BLOWN MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO DOWN-PLAY THE DEMONSTRATION AND TO JUSTIFY THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, WITH ABSOLUTELY NO MENTION OF THE BRUTAL STALIN ERA. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN THE STRONGEST SUCH OFFICIAL MEDIA REACTION TO ANY EVENT IN ESTONIA IN THE LAST FORTY YEARS.

PRIOR TO THE DEMONSTRATION I HAD APPLIED TO EMIGRATE BUT WAS REFUSED. ON SEPTEMBER 7, I WAS SUMMONED TO THE OVIR OFFICE IN TALLINN, WHERE A KGB AGENT GAVE ME AN ULTIMATUM: EITHER I WAS TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION BY SEPTEMBER 14, OR THE SAME FATE AS BEFELL MART NIKLUS WOULD AWAIT ME. I ARRIVED IN SWEDEN WITH MY WIFE AND SON ON SEPTEMBER 12.

I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION A FEW EVENTS THAT ARE CONTINUING IN OCCUPIED ESTONIA. ON SEPTEMBER 1, JURI MIKK BEGAN A LONG-TERM HUNGER STRIKE TO PROTEST BOTH THE MEDIA SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST US AND ATTEMPTS BY OFFICIALS TO JUSTIFY THE MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, ON SEPTEMBER 30, MIKK DEMONSTRATED ON RED SQUARE IN MOSCOW. HE WAS SEIZED BY THE POLICE AND A SIGN HE WAS CARRYING TORN TO SHREDS.

TWO WELL-KNOWN ESTONIANS, MART NIKLUS AND ENN TARTO, STILL LANGUISH IN PERM CAMP NO. 36-1. BOTH HAVE RECEIVED 10-YEAR FORCED LABOR CAMP SENTENCES, PLUS FIVE YEARS INTERNAL EXILE. NIKLUS WAS ARRESTED FOR THE SECOND TIME IN 1980, ENN TARTO IN 1983. BOTH WERE AMONG THE FORTY-FIVE BALTIC HUMAN AND NATIONAL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WHO, INSPIRED BY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, SIGNED THE BALTIC APPEAL IN 1979.

IN A LENGTHY LETTER TO HIS MOTHER THIS SPRING, MART NIKLUS DESCRIBES PERM CAMP 36-1 AS THE "FOCUS OF EVIL IN THE WORLD" - AN AREA UNTOUCHED BY "GLASNOST".

BESIDES MART NIKLUS AND ENN TARTO, BOTH OF WHOSE NAMES HAVE APPEARED IN APPEALS BY DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV, NEARLY THIRTY OTHER ESTONIANS ARE KNOWN TO BE INCARCERATED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS OR PSYCHIATRIC FACILITIES. THESE INDIVIDUALS, RANGING IN AGE FROM 18 TO 74, ARE BEING PUNISHED FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF "CRIMES" WHICH ARE CLEARLY POLITICAL IN NATURE - SUCH AS TEARING DOWN THE FLAG OF OCCUPYING SOVIET FORCES, RAISING THE BLUE, BLACK, AND WHITE FLAG OF FREE ESTONIA, CONFLICTS WITH RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS, ETC.

IN SPITE OF THE LOSS OF ABOUT 1/4 OF ITS ONE MILLION POPULATION DURING WORLD WAR II AND THE SOVIET OCCUPATION, THE SPIRIT OF THE ESTONIANS HAS NOT BEEN BROKEN. GUERRILLA RESISTANCE, WHICH WAS NOT STAMPED OUT UNTIL THE 1950'S, WAS THE FIRST LOGICAL EXPRESSION OF DISSENT. EVEN THOUGH EVERYONE WHO HAS OPENLY OPPOSED OR CRITICIZED THE ALL-ENCOMPASSING FALSHHOOD AND INJUSTICE UPON WHICH THE EXISTING SYSTEM IS BASED HAS BEEN REPRESSED BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES, THERE IS A CONSTANT STREAM OF NEW PEOPLE JOINING THE RESISTANCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT. THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN FREE ESTONIA. OUR BEST AND BRAVEST LEADERS UNDERSTAND THAT THE ESTONIAN PEOPLE CAN THRIVE ONLY IF THEIR INDEPENDENCE IS RESTORED.

WE ARE FULLY COGNIZANT OF THE FACT THAT THE FUTURE OF THE ESTONIAN AND OTHER BALTIC PEOPLES DEPENDS UPON PUBLIC OPINION IN THE FREE WORLD AS WELL AS THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY, FRANCE, AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS. THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA HAS BEEN TO PERPETUATE THE MYTH OF THE SOVIET UNION'S OMNIPOTENCE AND ITS ABILITY TO ACT WITH IMPUNITY. THE ESTONIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AND FREEDOM FIGHTERS HOPE THAT, IN THE FUTURE, THE BALTIC SITUATION WILL ATTRACT MORE ATTENTION IN THE FREE WORLD. ONLY AN UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CAN BRING SUCCESS.

ON BEHALF OF THE ESTONIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, I WOULD LIKE SINCERELY TO THANK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, PRESIDENT REAGAN, AND MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

Mrs. RIKKEN. Thank you. I will read the abbreviated version of Mr. Madisson.

On the 23d of August 1987, the official Soviet version of history pertaining to Estonia collapsed upon itself. The demonstration in Tallinn on August 23 was an event of the first magnitude in post-war Estonian history. For the first time in 43 years of totalitarian rule, a publicly planned, mass demonstration dealing with the key issues of the Estonia people's destiny took place. This was nothing less than the beginning of multi-dimensional, genuine, self-initiated, political activity.

It had become very clear that despite the passage of nearly half a century, the Estonian people will not forget injustice, violence and falsehoods. Forty-three years of actively distorting the truth has not succeeded in making a single thinking person accept the Soviet version of post-war events in Estonia.

The Estonian Group for Publication of the Molotov-Ribbentrop, MRP-AEG——

Mrs. RIKKEN [interposing]. And you will note that Mr. Madisson is wearing the button that the Estonian organizers prepared there bearing the initials of their group.

[Continues reading.]

—was formed on August 15 by seven individuals: chairman and representative, Mr. Tiit Madisson, Heiki Ahonen, Lagle Parek, Jan Korb, Mati Kiirend, Ilse Heinsalu, and Juri Mikk.

Chairman HOYER. I think we are going to hire you to say all of the names that we have to say during the rest of our statements. You may proceed.

Mrs. RIKKEN. I can speak only for Estonians, unfortunately.

[Continues reading.]

The first five that I just named are former political prisoners themselves.

The primary aim of this new group was to create an Estonian movement to seek the publication and renunciation of the 1939 secret agreement between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

Since there was really no true hope that these items would be published, including the secret protocols dividing Eastern Europe into "spheres of influence," the MRP-AEG decided to call for mass demonstrations in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, on August 23, 1987, the 48th anniversary of the signing of the pact.

Important considerations supporting this undertaking were the successful demonstrations earlier held June 14 in Riga, Latvia, the Crimean Tartars' protests in Moscow, and the favorable atmosphere that had developed in Estonia itself.

The first 6 months of 1987 have seen a number of active protests against Soviet planned phosphate mining in the Estonia region, an environmentally very hazardous undertaking mandated by the Soviets in which the Estonia people themselves had no say.

And 30 to 40 independent Estonian and cultural organizations had formed among the intellectuals, and finally, an important consideration was the matter of Baltic solidarity. We in Tallinn could not betray this joint Baltic endeavor. We sensed that a historical moment was upon us.

And so, on the 15th of August, MRP-AEG called upon the Estonia people to assemble in the square in front of Tallinn's City Hall on the 23d of August at noon. Simultaneously, I notified the city government of our plans.

Businesslike discussions were held between city and state officials with our group. The officials would not give permission for a demonstration in the City Hall Square, but suggested another site. MRP-AEG agreed to the change in location, but to relay this information to potential participants, we had to rely strictly on word-of-mouth and whatever other information could be conveyed by radios, et cetera. We were not given permission to xerox to distribute materials, to put announcements into the newspapers, or use any of the normal means one would use in the West.

On Saturday, the 22d of August, both nationwide television and the Central Press reacted vehemently to our plans for the demonstration, portraying these plans as external interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and as Fascist fabrications.

On the other hand, a letter from 20 U.S. Senators, initiated by Senator Riegle, addressed to Mr. Gorbachev and the party bosses in the Baltic provinces, and reports of Baltic exiles planning actions in solidarity with us, gave us hope that this endeavor might, indeed, succeed.

And to our great surprise and excitement, several thousand people—estimates range from 5,000 to 7,000—7,000 people gathered at City Hall Square on August 23, and then moved peacefully along the city streets to the new site, Hirve Park. Some participants even carried placards calling for publication of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, exposure of Stalin's crimes, and release of Estonian political prisoners.

It took at least 10 minutes for the flow of participants to pass. Word of a concurrent hunger strike by young Baltic-Americans here at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington helped to boost our morale. People brought flowers and lit candles in memory of the victims of Stalinist terror.

At Hirve Park, the crowd continued to grow. I delivered the opening speech, which outlined the genesis of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and described its consequences. Mention of the constitutional right to self-determination and secession brought one of the most vigorous ovations from the crowd.

Accurate figures about the number of people arrested, put to death and deported during the initial years of Soviet occupation stunned the listeners. These figures had never before been released to our people, although they are widely known in the West.

The demand that Stalinist as well as Nazi criminals be brought to justice was received by listeners with another very strong round of applause. Sixty-two persons joined a new group calling for the erection of a monument dedicated to the memory of victims of Stalin in Estonia.

It is highly unlikely that everything would have gone so unexpectedly smoothly if demonstrations had not taken place in other parts of the world, if the international mass media had not devoted as much attention to the fate of the Baltic peoples. This demonstration made the front page of at least 62 newspapers here in the United States and most of the papers in Europe.

The demonstration was noted that evening by the official Estonia press agency. However, the number of participants was reported as a mere 200 to 300, and the event itself was attacked and discredited in true Stalinist fashion.

The following 2 weeks saw a full-blown media campaign to down-play the demonstration and to justify the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, with absolutely no mention of the brutal Stalin era. This may have been the strongest such official media reaction to any event in Estonia in the last 40 years.

Prior to the demonstration, I had applied to emigrate, but was refused. On September 7, I was summoned to the OVIR Office in Tallinn, where a KGB agent gave me an ultimatum: either I was to leave the Soviet Union by September 14, or the same fate as befell Mart Niklus would await me.

I arrived in Sweden with my wife and son on September 12, and I am very grateful to the Swedish authorities for helping me in this emigration.

I would like to mention a few events that are continuing in occupied Estonia, in addition to the broader issues of Soviet occupation itself.

On September 1, Juri Mikk, a member of our MRP-AEG group, began a long-term hunger strike to protect both the media smear campaign against us and attempts by officials to justify the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. According to press reports, on September 30, Mr. Mikk demonstrated in Red Square in Moscow. He was seized by the police, and a sign he was carrying was torn to shreds.

Two well-known Estonians, Mart Niklus and Enn Tarto, still languish in Perm Camp No. 36–1. Both have received 10-year forced labor camp sentences, plus 5 years' internal exile. Niklus was arrested for the second time in 1980. Enn Tarto in 1983 was arrested for the third time. Both were among the 45 Baltic human and national rights activists who, inspired by the Helsinki accords, signed the Baltic Appeal in 1979.

In a lengthy letter to his mother this spring, Mart Niklus describes Perm Camp 36–1 as "the focus of evil in the world," an area untouched by glasnost.

Besides Mart Niklus and Enn Tarto, both of whose names have appeared in appeals by Dr. Andrei Sakharov, nearly 30 other Estonians are known to be incarcerated in concentration camps or psychiatric facilities. These individuals, ranging in age from 18 to 74, are being punished for various kinds of "crimes" which are clearly political in nature, such as tearing down the flag of the occupying Soviet forces, raising the blue, black and white flag of free Estonia, conflicts with Russian immigrants, and so forth.

In spite of the loss of about one-fourth of its 1 million population during World War II and the continuing Soviet occupation, the spirit of the Estonians has not been broken. Guerrilla resistance, which was not stamped out until the 1950's, was the first logical expression of dissent.

Even though everyone who has openly opposed or criticized the all-encompassing falsehood and injustice upon which the existing Soviet system is based has been re-

pressed by the Soviet authorities, there is a constant stream of new people joining the resistance and human rights movement.

The Estonia people have not forgotten free Estonia. Our best and bravest leaders understand that the Estonia people can only thrive and survive if their independence is restored.

We, of course, are fully cognizant of the fact that the future of the Estonia and other Baltic peoples depends upon public opinion in the free world, as well as the positions taken by the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, West Germany, France, and other Western nations. The greatest achievement of Soviet propaganda has been to perpetuate the myth of the Soviet Union's omnipotence and its ability to act with impunity.

The Estonian resistance movement and freedom fighters hope that in the future the Baltic situation will attract more attention in the free world. Only an uncompromising struggle for human rights can bring success.

On behalf of the Estonian resistance movement, and my fellow members of the MRP-AEG, I would like sincerely to thank the American people, President Reagan, and the Members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives for their support.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much, Mr. Madisson, for your statement.

We are going to hold questions until all of the witnesses have testified so that Senator DeConcini and others who may have schedule problems can hear all of the testimony.

At this time I would like to introduce Mr. Rolands Silaraups, who was born in Riga, Latvia. In September 1986, he was sentenced to 5 years labor camp and 2 years internal exile for distributing anti-Soviet literature and, in addition, for claiming that the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.

He was released from prison in February 1987, after having agreed to emigrate. Before arriving at the Federal Republic of Germany in July 1987, Mr. Silaraups helped organize the June 14 demonstration in Riga. He now resides in the FRG.

His interpreter is Mr. Ojars Kalnins. Mr. Kalnins is Public Relations Director for the American-Latvian Association. He resides in Takoma Park, MD.

We are very pleased to have you here, and you may proceed in whatever way you want.

Let me prior to that, however, take this opportunity to introduce another very active, very committed and very faithful member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe from Illinois, Congressman John Porter.

In addition to being a member of the Commission, Congressman Porter also co-chairs the Human Rights Caucus of the Congress of the United States. We are pleased that he is here.

You may proceed in whatever way you deem best.

Mr. KALNINS. I will begin by reading Mr. Silaraups' statement.

STATEMENT OF ROLANDS SILARAUPS

In the beginning of this year, a change took place in the attitude of Soviet authorities toward human rights activists. The same, however, cannot be said of their attitude toward the idea of human rights itself.

The change was manifested in such a way that many human rights activists, including myself, who were imprisoned solely for their human rights activities, were released. Similarly, in Latvia today, it is easier to express one's opinions which are independent of those held by the authorities, without fear or immediate arrests as has been the case in the past.

However, the KGB continues to collect information about these people so that if there is a change in the political climate, they can be held accountable.

Otherwise, everything is the same as it was in the past. Many political prisoners continue to remain in prison, among them such Latvians as Gunars Astra, Zanis Skudra, and others, and also they are held in psychiatric hospitals, including Gederts Melngailis, Maigonis Ravins.

In addition, since the beginning of this year, there is a known case in Latvia where an individual has been tried for his political activity, Linards Grantins. He was tried on the basis of fabricated charges, supposedly for refusing an order to report for army reserve training courses.

The truth is, he was arrested and tried with the purpose of isolating him from society, for at that very time, which is the beginning of June of this year, Linards Grantins was organizing a demonstration at the Freedom Monument in Riga in order to honor the victims of the Stalin deportations in 1941.

Grantins' trial took place in the spirit of the old Stalinist show trials. Grantins' trial demonstrates that any changes in the Soviet Union are only of a superficial nature. Neither the campaign of openness nor that of democratization has reached the Soviet justice system.

This trial leads us to expect that the U.S.S.R. can use the Criminal Code in such a way against all who think differently. The authorities can, therefore, try them as if for criminal law violations, and then afterward claim that they are not political prisoners.

The fact that no deeper changes in this regard have occurred, is testified to, by the actions undertaken by the militia, justice, and KGB agents against the organizers and participants of the June 14 and August 23 demonstrations in Riga.

Although a request for permission to hold the June 14 demonstration was made with the appropriate agencies, the KGB and the militia tried to disrupt the demonstration. This was done through the scheduling of a sports festival on the day of the demonstration. The result was accomplished through provocations and open threats against the organizers.

Mr. KALNINS [interposing]. I might add that we have a short video tape of the June 14 demonstration if you would be interested in seeing segments of it later.

Chairman HOYER. I think we would be, yes.

Mr. KALNINS [continues reading].

On August 23, 1987, representatives of the Government broke into the apartment where the organizers of the August 23 demonstration had gathered. It was the apartment of Ojars Ginters, Padomju Boulevard, 12-9. Totally ignoring any standards of justice or humanity, they detained these people and physically assaulted them.

In response to questions concerning the legality of their actions, the Government agents laughingly answered that they fully understood that their behavior was unconstitutional, but that this did not interest them. Any attempts to hold these people legally accountable for their actions have failed.

The behavior of the militia toward the demonstrators at the Freedom Monument was, in effect, similar to the behavior toward the members of the Helsinki '86 group in the Ginters' apartment.

These examples, and they are not the only ones, testify that, in effect, there have been no changes for the better regarding human rights in Latvia. In fact, such changes cannot even be expected as long as the single most important question concerning Latvia is not addressed: the question of self-determination.

Beginning in June of 1940 and continuing to this day, the people of Latvia have been robbed of their right to determine their own fate and regulate their own internal and external affairs. Each and every Latvian suffers this lack of basic human rights most heavily in the following ways:

One, russification. In Latvia, the Latvian language is increasingly being forced out of all spheres of life, this, despite the fact that recently this painful subject has been openly written about in the newspapers. This is, again, an example of what I mentioned earlier, that on the surface much is said about major changes, but in reality nothing is changing.

Two, massive Russian migration to Latvia and special privileges for immigrants. For example, native Latvians cannot get apartments, regardless of how difficult their personal circumstances. Russian immigrants, on the other hand, can obtain these new apartments in a few years' time. If this fact is represented to Soviet authorities, they sarcastically describe it as "Latvian hospitality."

Three, the Latvian environment is being ruthlessly exploited and destroyed. The work undertaken by the Latvian Regional Environmental Protection Club is con-

stantly hampered. Often, during talks with the KGB, club members have been told that the club is too nationalistic, and that in their work they do not take into account state interests.

Four, restriction of personal freedoms. The personal freedoms of each individual regarding foreign travel, access to literature and similar matters are severely and continuously restricted.

Five, restriction of religious freedom. This is primarily manifested as repression against religious activists and the clergy. At this moment, the most vivid example is that of the Lutheran minister, Modris Plate, who because of his outstanding work with the congregations of Kuldiga and Edole has been relieved of all his ministerial duties within the Latvian Lutheran Church.

Other examples include the punishment of the Reverend Dr. Roberts Akmentins, who was removed recently from his post as the head of the Latvian theological seminary, because of his membership in the newly formed Latvian Christian Movement for Rebirth and Renewal.

Still today believers do not have the right to express their religious views outside of the walls of the church, and any charitable work is strictly forbidden.

Six, no freedom of the press. Today in Latvia it is impossible to establish a free press independent of the Government. As a result, all of the efforts of the openness and democratization campaign are channeled through the Government-controlled press. That which presently appears in the press is not free thought, but only a "letting off of steam," subject to government controlled and established limits.

At this moment the lack of press freedom is especially well demonstrated through ongoing press attacks on members and supporters of the group Helsinki '86, including myself. Not only is it impossible to protest these attacks; it is also impossible to publicly respond to them. Articles expressing opposing views are refused and the TV stations have turned down our offers for open discussions of the issues.

These are only a few examples of what I view as the most outrageous human rights violations being perpetrated in Latvia. These are violations which I myself have personally encountered.

I also know many people in Latvia who have suffered and continue to suffer as a result of these human rights violations.

Mr. KALNINS. Finally, Mr. Silaraups has asked, since he does not speak English, for me to express his deepest gratitude to this Commission, to the Chairmen of this Commission, to the staff, also to President Reagan and to the U.S. Congress and Senate, because it is his belief that without your help he would not be here today, and he just wanted to let you know that the people of Latvia are very aware of what you are doing and are looking forward to your help and support in the future.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Rolands Silaraups follows:]

ROLANDS SILARAUPS STATEMENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WASHINGTON, DC, OCTOBER 6, 1987

In the beginning of this year, a change took place in the attitude of Soviet authorities toward human rights activists. The same, however, cannot be said of their attitude toward the idea of human rights itself.

The change was manifested in such a way that many human rights activists, including myself, who were imprisoned solely for their human rights activities, were released. Similarly, in Latvia today, it is easier to express one's opinions—opinions which are independent of those held by the authorities—without fear of immediate arrest, as has been the case in the past. However, the KGB continues to collect information about these people so that, if there is a change in the political climate, they can be held accountable. Otherwise, everything is the same as it was in the past. Many political prisoners continue to remain in prison, (among them such Latvians as Gunars Astra, Zanis Skudra and others) and in psychiatric hospitals (for example, Gederts Melngailis, Maigonis Ravins, etc.).

In addition, since the beginning of this year, there is a known case in Latvia where an individual has been tried for his political activity—Linards Grantins. He was tried on the basis of fabricated charges—supposedly for refusing an order to report for army reserve training courses. The truth is, he was arrested and tried with the purpose of isolating him from society, for at that very time, that is the

beginning of June of this year, he was organizing a demonstration at the Freedom Monument in Riga in order to honor the victims of the Stalin deportations.

Grantins' trial took place in the spirit of the old Stalinist show trials, (Helsinki 86 has copies of transcripts of his trial.) Grantins' trial demonstrates that any changes in the Soviet Union are only of a superficial nature. Neither the campaign of "openness" nor that of "democratization" has reached the Soviet justice system.

This trial leads us to suspect that the USSR can use the criminal code in such a way against all who think differently. The authorities can therefore try them as if for criminal law violations, and then afterward claim that they are not political prisoners.

The fact that no deeper changes in this regard have occurred, is testified to by the actions undertaken by militia, justice and KGB agents against the organizers and participants of the June 14 and August 23 demonstrations in Riga. Although a request for permission to hold the June 14 demonstration was made with the appropriate agencies, the KGB and militia tried to disrupt the demonstration. This was done through the scheduling of a "sport festival" on the day of the demonstration. It was also accomplished through provocations and open threats against the organizers.

On August 23, 1987 representatives of the government broke into an apartment where the organizers had gathered (the apartment of Ojars Ginters, Padomju boulevard, 12-9) and totally ignoring any standards of justice or humanity, detained these people, and physically assaulted them. In response to questions concerning the legality of their actions, the government agents laughingly answered that they fully understood that their behavior was unconstitutional, but that this did not interest them. Any attempts to hold these people legally accountable for their actions have failed. The behavior of the militia toward the demonstrators at the Freedom Monument, was, in effect, similar to the behavior toward the members of the Helsinki 86 group in the Ginters' apartment.

These examples (and they are not the only ones) testify that, in effect, there have been no changes for the better regarding human rights. In fact, such changes cannot even be expected as long as the singlemost important question concerning Latvia is not addressed—THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION. Beginning in June of 1940, and continuing to this day, the people of Latvia have been robbed of their right to determine their own fate and regulate their own internal and external affairs. Each and every Latvian suffers this lack of basic human rights most heavily in the following ways:

1. *Russification.*—In Latvia, the Latvian language is increasingly being forced out of all spheres of life. This, despite the fact that recently this painful subject has been openly written about in the newspapers. This is again an example of what I mentioned earlier—(that on the surface much is said about major changes, but in reality, nothing is changing.)

2. *Massive Russsian migration to Latvia and special privileges for immigrants.*—For example—native Latvians cannot get apartments, regardless of how difficult their personal circumstances. Russian immigrants, on the other hand, can obtain these new apartments in a few years time. If this fact is presented, it is cynically described as "Latvian hospitality."

3. *The Latvian environment is being ruthlessly exploited and destroyed.*—The work undertaken by the Latvian regional environmental protection club is consistently hampered. Often, during talks with the KGB, club members have been told that the club is too nationalistic and that in their work they do not take into account State interests.

4. *Restriction of personal freedoms.*—The personal freedoms of each individual, regarding foreign travel, access to literature and similar matters, are severely restricted.

5. *Restriction of religious freedom.*—This is primarily manifested as repression against religious activists and the clergy. At this moment, the most vivid example is that of the Lutheran minister Modris Plate, who, because of his outstanding work with the congregations of Kuldiga and Edole, has been relieved of all his ministerial duties within the Latvian Lutheran Church. Other examples include the punishment of the Rev. Dr. Roberts Akmentins, who was removed from his post as head of the Latvian theological seminary because of his membership in the Latvian Christian Movement for Rebirth and Renewal. Still today, believers do not have the right to express their religious views outside the walls of the church; any charitable church work is also forbidden.

6. *No freedom of press.*—Today in Latvia it is impossible to establish a free press, independent of the government. As a result, all the efforts of the openness and democratization campaign, are channeled through the government controlled press.

That, which presently appears in the press, is not free thought, but only a "letting off of steam", subject to government controlled and established limits. At this moment, the lack of press freedom is especially well demonstrated through ongoing press attacks on the members and supporters of the group HELSINKI 86 including myself. Not only is it impossible to protest these attacks, it is also impossible to publically respond to them. Articles expressing opposing views are refused and the TV stations have turned down offers for open discussions of the issues.

These are only a few examples of what I view as the most outrageous human rights violations being perpetrated in Latvia. These are violations which I myself have personally encountered. I also know many people in Latvia who have suffered, and continue to suffer as a result of these human rights violations.—(Translated by Ojars Kalnins, American Latvian Association in the United States, Inc., Rockville, MD.)

Chairman HOYER. We thank you for that observation.

Mr. KALNINS. Mr. Silaraups just wanted to say one thing.

Mr. SILARAUPS. Thank you, Americans, from the Latvian people.

Chairman HOYER. You did that much better than I am doing with Estonian and Lithuanian names. Thank you.

I might say that those comments, and the comments made by our previous witness, Mr. Madisson to a great extent encourage the work of this Commission, of the Congress, the Human Rights Caucus and other groups in our government and in this country to renew our efforts.

I would now like to call on Mr. Skuodis. Mr. Skuodis was born in Chicago, Illinois in 1929. He is a U.S. citizen, but was taken to his father's homeland of Lithuania a year later.

He was a lecturer in geology at the University of Vilnius when he was arrested for his human rights activity in 1980. A member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Mr. Skuodis served 7 years in a labor camp until he was released in February of this year and permitted to return to the United States.

Mr. Skuodis' case came to the attention of the Commission at its hearings on August 5, 1981, on the issue of religious and national dissent in Lithuania.

Accompanying him will be Ginte Damusis. She is the Director of the Lithuanian Information Center in Brooklyn, New York, and she is from New York City.

I wish she was from New Jersey because one of the most active and committed individuals in the Congress of the United States, also a member of our Commission, has joined us, Senator Frank Lautenberg from the State of New Jersey. Senator Lautenberg was also with us in Romania, also spent substantial time in Poland, and has been an outspoken advocate of the rights of all peoples.

Also joining us is Congressman John Miller. Congressman Miller, a new Member of the Congress from the State of Washington, has also been very active on the issues particularly related to the Baltic States, and we appreciate his attendance. He is not a member of the Commission, but has graciously agreed to join us today, and we appreciate that.

For those members who have just joined us we are going through the statements, and as soon as they finish, I will want to recognize those members who have joined us to make a brief statement, and then we will go to questions and answers.

Mr. Skuodis.

Ms. DAMUSIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Skuodis has a longer, 6-page document outlining the main religious and national concerns of the Lithuanian people.

It is also my pleasure to announce that in this documentation there is contained one of the first Lithuanian Helsinki Group documents to appear in years dealing with the recent kidnappings of the organizers of the Vilnius demonstration on August 23.

Chairman HOYER. Would you pronounce your last name for me?

Ms. DAMUSIS. Damusis.

Chairman HOYER. That was not too bad. Thank you.

Ms. DAMUSIS. Mr. Skuodis would like to state to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe why he believes the subject of religion and nationality should be raised at U.S.-Soviet summits, and now I speak in his name.

STATEMENT OF VYTAUTAS SKUODIS

Since arrival to my native United States in September, I have come to realize how seriously my fellow Americans take the oppression of religion in the U.S.S.R. For instance, in a strong show of support for religious freedom, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution last month urging the Reagan administration to speak out against Soviet persecution of Lithuanian Catholics.

Although Jewish emigration and the treatment of dissidents, both of which are closely tied to the treatment of religion, have long been at the center of our human rights agenda, we are too often silent about the sad state of religious affairs in the U.S.S.R. This silence may be construed as lack of concern by the Soviets.

Though some reforms are taking place in the Soviet Union, in the name of "perestroika," there is no evidence of better conditions for believers. In predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania, the church is in a most precarious situation, as never before. The policy on religion is still along traditional lines, that the Communist Party must keep combating its influence.

A liberalization of restrictions on religion would probably be seen as ideological laxity. Thus, the Soviet Government is trying by all means to divide and demoralize the Lithuanian Catholic Church from within.

KGB infiltration of the church in Lithuania is at an all-time high. Despite legal guarantees, the state makes it very hard for believers to worship and to live without fear. Intrusive government supervision of the sole theological seminary in Kaunas; not allowing enough religious literature to be printed; refusal to allow the opening of new churches or the return of confiscated ones, except for Queen of Peace Church in Klaipeda which Tass reports will be returned in 2 years; restricting the role of priests with administrative fines; not allowing religious instruction of children; in these and other ways, the state makes the practice of religion difficult and often impossible.

I can categorically assert that the chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, written clandestinely in Lithuania and published in English and other languages in the West, fully represents the situation of the Catholic Church and of believers in Lithuania today.

We need to tell the Soviets at the highest level that the harsh treatment given religion, as documented in the Chronicle, is unacceptable.

Now that the new directions in Soviet policy allow us to discuss subjects that previously were taboo, we need to reassess approaches to the nationalities question. For 47 years, the Soviet Government has portrayed itself as the legitimate government of the Baltic States, insisting Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania wilfully joined the U.S.S.R. and that there is no basis for independence.

The Balts maintain that their countries were illegally occupied in 1940. It seems clear now that efforts at Soviet legitimacy have failed to stifle widespread resentment of the Baltic peoples to the Soviet occupation. This animosity was easily detected in the demonstrators, who chanted, "Freedom, freedom, freedom," during protests which took place on August 23 in the capital cities of the Baltic States.

May I respectfully suggest that the United States put forward cautious demands on nationality issues, at the very least in the sphere of language and education? For the Russians, demands for schooling and the expanded use of their language are no problem.

For the non-Russians, it is a different story. Those who have put forward timid requests to rehabilitate some aspects of pre-revolutionary Lithuanian history and who have taken up the defense of the Lithuanian language make little progress.

In a sense, glasnost has again proved the old dictum about national equality in the U.S.S.R.: yes, everyone is equal, but some are more equal than others.

Non-Russian advocates of national rights are assumed to exist only in emigre circles abroad, while those who dare to express ideas in defense of their nationality in the U.S.S.R. are safely behind bars in the labor camps, where they represent the majority of political prisoners. Their crime has been to talk or write about their heritage and their history.

My colleagues, journalist and poet Gintautas Iesmantas, and the teacher Povilas Peceliunas,[1] with whom I was tried, are still in internal exile. Iesmantas was charged with writing articles advocating a right guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution: secession from the U.S.S.R.; whereas Peceliunas was accused of possessing and distributing literature on religion and Lithuanian history deemed as anti-Soviet.

I ask you through your good offices to relay these recommendations to President Reagan. It is within his power to focus Soviet attention on these matters.

I encourage the U.S. House and Senate to raise the issues of religion and nationality in the U.S.S.R., and to insure their inclusion in our human rights policy.

I ask you this not in my name alone, but in the name of many well-known Lithuanian dissidents and internal exiles whom I was able to meet. The desire of all of them for the well-being of their homeland matches the hopes and desires of the majority of the Lithuanian people.

Allow me at this time to also thank from the bottom of my heart all those who lobbied so relentlessly on my behalf.

[The prepared statement of Vytautas Skuodis follows:]

[1] Peceliunas returned to Lithuania on Oct. 26, 1987 after completing his sentence.

OPENING REMARKS OF VYTAUTAS SKUODIS
BEFORE THE
U.S. COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

October 6, 1987
2247 Rayburn House Office Building

I would like to state to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe why I believe the subjects of religion and nationality should be raised at US-Soviet summits.

Since arrival to my native United States in September, I have come to realize how seriously my fellow Americans take the oppression of religion in the USSR. For instance, in a strong show of support for religious freedom, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution last month urging the Reagan administration to speak out against Soviet persecution of Lithuanian Catholics. Although Jewish emigration and the treatment of dissidents (both of which are closely tied to the treatment of religion) have long been at the center of our human rights agenda, we are too often silent about the sad state of religious affairs in the USSR. This silence may be construed as lack of concern by the Soviets.

Though some reforms are taking place in the Soviet Union, in the name of *perestroika*, there is no evidence of better conditions for believers. In predominantly Roman Catholic Lithuania, the Church is in a most precarious situation, as never before. The policy on religion is still along traditional lines that the Communist Party must keep combatting its influence. A liberalization of restrictions on religion would probably be seen as ideological laxity. Thus the Soviet government is trying by all means to divide and demoralize the Lithuanian Catholic Church from within.

KGB infiltration of the Church in Lithuania is at an all-time high. Despite legal guarantees, the state makes it very hard for believers to worship and to live without fear. Intrusive government supervision of the sole theological seminary in Kaunas; not allowing enough religious literature to be printed; refusal to allow the opening of new churches or the return of confiscated ones (except for Queen of Peace church in Klaipėda, which, TASS reports, will be returned in two years); restricting the role of priests with admistrative fines; not allowing religious instruction of children - in these and other ways, the state makes the practice of religion difficult, and often impossible.

I can categorically assert that the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, written clandestinely in Lithuania and published in English and other languages in the West, fully represents the situation of the Catholic Church and of believers in Lithuania today. We need to tell the Soviets, at the highest level, that the harsh treatment given religion and documented in the *Chronicle* is unacceptable.

Now that the new directions in Soviet policy allow us to discuss subjects that previously were taboo, we need to reassess approaches to the nationalities question. For 47 years, the Soviet government has portrayed itself as the legitimate government of the Baltic states, insisting that

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania willfully joined the USSR and that there is no basis for independence. The Balts maintain that their countries were illegally occupied in 1940. It seems clear now that efforts at Soviet legitimacy have failed to stifle widespread resentment of the Baltic peoples to the Soviet occupation. This animosity was easily detected in the demonstrators, who chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" during protests which took place on August 23 in the capital cities of the Baltic states.

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My colleagues, journalist and poet Gintautas Iešmantas and the teacher Povilas Pečeliūnas, with whom I was tried, are still in internal exile. Iešmantas was charged with writing articles advocating a right guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution - secession from the USSR, whereas Pečeliūnas was accused of possessing and distributing literature on religion and Lithuanian history, deemed as anti-Soviet.

I ask you, through your good offices, to relay these recommendations to President Reagan, if it is within his power to focus Soviet attention on these matters. I encourage the U.S. House and Senate to raise the issues of religion and nationality in the USSR and to ensure their inclusion in our human rights policy. I ask you this not in my name alone, but in the name of many well-known Lithuanian dissidents and internal exiles, whom I was able to meet. The desire of all of them for the well-being of their homeland matches the hopes and desires of the majority of the Lithuanian people.

Allow me at this time to also thank from the bottom of my heart all those, who lobbied so relentlessly for my freedom.

Vytautas Skuodis,
October 6, 1987

Translated by
Lithuanian Information Center
351 Highland Blvd.
Brooklyn NY 11207
tel. (718) 647-2434

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much.

Now, what I would like to do is if all three of our witnesses would come to the table and then the interpreters come to the table, we will have a big group at the table.

And while you are doing that, I would like to recognize, and I am going to do it, in fairness, I think, in the order of their showing up at the hearing, for brief statements so that we do not take too much time from the questions.

Congressman Richardson.

BRIEF STATEMENTS OF REPRESENTATIVES BILL RICHARDSON, JOHN PORTER, EDWARD FEIGHAN, SENATOR FRANK LAUTENBERG, AND REPRESENTATIVE JOHN MILLER

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask unanimous consent to insert my statement in the record, and in the interest of expediting the hearing, I would like to reserve anything I say to my questions.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Without objection.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Bill Richardson follows:]

STATEMENT OF BILL RICHARDSON - - HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING
OCTOBER 6, 1987

I welcome the witnesses and thank you for coming today to speak to us. I look forward to hearing your testimony and to having the benefit of your opinions on the progress of human rights in the Baltic states.

Knowing of your distinguished actions on behalf of human rights in your respective countries, I hold each of you in the highest regard. Those actions demonstrate the true spirit of the Helsinki agreement - - the active pursuit of a global climate of respect for human rights.

The public demonstrations of this past year reveal strong Nationalistic feelings which persist among the citizens of the Baltic States despite nearly fifty years of suppression by the Soviet government. Through your participation in those events and your past efforts to promote human rights, you set an example of selflessness and commitment to the goals of the Helsinki Agreement.

You are among the men and women for whom this Commission is organized. We work to find ways to use our influence as US Representatives and Senators to support those who honor the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. I applaud your efforts and I look forward to hearing your suggestions for how we can best serve that purpose.

Chairman HOYER. Congressman Porter.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I apologize that I have to be briefly out for a television interview, but I will be back.

Let me say that it seems to me that the August 23 demonstrations were really a litmus test for Mr. Gorbachev's glasnost policy, and while we can be encouraged that emigration figures are up in the Soviet Union, which is a welcome sign, that some well-known dissidents have been released, which is also a welcome sign, and our own agreement is perhaps forthcoming, another welcome sign; nevertheless, there is evidence that the people of the Baltic nations have to continue to fight for their national rights.

I think it is particularly interesting that here before us are young people, not people who were there 40 years ago when their nations were free, but rather, young people who yearn for free nations, to have human freedoms and religious freedoms accepted in their countries, and this seems to me to say to the Soviet Union that this movement is not going to die; that it is alive and well among the young people of these nations, and it is going to be there until human freedom and national freedom is given.

So we thank all three of our witnesses for being here, telling us what the truth is in their countries and telling the world what the truth is because the truth evidently will make all of us free.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Mr. Porter.

I do not think I have to introduce the next member of the Commission, our newest member of the Commission, Congressman Feighan.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you for holding this very important hearing on political dissidence in the Baltic States.

Let me simply say that I think that the events which took place in the capitals of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia this past August 23rd, dramatically and unquestionably captured the attention of the Soviet leadership and indeed of the world.

As other members of the Commission have indicated, it is clear that the people of the Baltic States are not forgetting their heritage or giving up the important struggle that they have maintained now for the past 47 years.

I was honored a few weeks ago to bring a resolution to the floor of the Congress with Congressman John Miller of Washington, which focused on continuing human rights violations and denial of religious freedoms, particularly in Lithuania. I also note that the resolution captured the attention of Soviet officials because it was reviewed in the Soviet press. So it reached the mark for which it was intended.

Hopefully, the resolution received wide circulation among the people of Lithuania and the two other Baltic States as well, indicating to them that there is a continuing and broad base of support and concern in the U.S. Congress for the struggle that they maintain.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the timeliness of this hearing today very much. I look forward to hearing from the courageous witnesses who are before us today. Clearly, these three brave men rep-

resent the personal courage of thousands of others who remain captive in the Baltic States today.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Congressman Feighan.

Next, Senator Frank Lautenberg, who as I indicated before is one of the leaders in the U.S. Senate and in this Nation on the issue of human rights and also has been very involved with respect to the captive nations question.

Senator Lautenberg.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have a vote in the Senate now. I will keep my statement brief. I apologize for having to leave. I am very interested in what these witnesses and the people that they represent have to say. These witnesses and others like them from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are courageous.

I want to remind Mr. Skuodis that Archbishop McCarrick, and my staff person, Sharon Waxman, met him in the Soviet Union just before he left.

Mr. Chairman, very briefly, last week the Senate spoke out against the human rights violations in the Baltic Republics. It approved an amendment that I was pleased to co-sponsor, which called on the President to make a statement before the United Nations in July 1988 reconfirming America's position against the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States.

Recently we saw very courageous demonstrations in the Baltic States. I encourage you to tell your friends and relatives in the Baltic States to continue to fight. Tell them that we in America remember very well the agreement was signed to wipe out the culture, to wipe out the language, to wipe out the history of these independent nations. Tell them that as members of the Helsinki Commission, and as Members of the U.S. Congress we will continue working on their behalf to preserve their precious heritage.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that a longer statement that I have be included in the record.

Chairman HOYER. Without objection Senator Lautenberg's statement will be included in the record in full at this point.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Frank Lautenberg follows:]

STATEMENT BY SENATOR FRANK R. LAUTENBERG October 6, 1987

HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING
HUMAN RIGHTS AND RECENT EVENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

This Helsinki Commission hearing is an important one. The Estonian, Latvians, and Lithuanians living under the illegal Soviet occupation in the Baltic Republics have recently witnessed some significant historical events. I hope that the witnesses who will testify today will be able to shed some light on the situation in the Baltic Republics.

In June, the Latvian "Helsinki '86" Group and many other supporters from the Baltic states organized a protest march in Riga. They were commemorating Stalin's forced deportation of thousands to Siberia forty six years ago. Some 5,000 people from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania joined the march to peacefully protest the ruthless deportation of their family and friends.

Again, in August, thousands of Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians flooded the streets to protest the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Stalin and Hitler. It was that document which provided for the illegal incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

Nothing like these demonstrations had been seen in the Baltic Republics since World War II. That they occurred and on such a large scale tells us something. For those living under Soviet rule in the Baltic Republics the desire for sovereignty and dignity is still strong.

While it is clear some changes are underway for those forced to live under Soviet occupation in the Baltic Republics, they represent only small changes. Surely, the window of freedom appears to have been opened in the Baltics, but it has only been opened a tiny crack. And it is only permitting a small breath of freedom to reach the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians who have suffocated under Soviet rule for 47 years. Serious human rights violations and repression persist in the Baltic Republics.

What are these human rights violations? For one thing, many Estonian, Lithuanian, and Latvian political prisoners still remain locked behind bars. Some prisoners, like the "forgotten prisoners" in the notorious Perm Camp 36-1, have spent more than 20 years in prison for what they have said, thought, or wrote about those freedoms in which they believe. In this camp, brave individuals continue to languish under subhuman conditions. Brave individuals like Estonian prisoner Mart Niklus (Ni-klus) and Enn Tarto (Tar-to); Latvian prisoner Gunnars Astra (Os-tra); and Lithuanian prisoner Viktoras Petkus (Piyat-kus).

Religious freedoms remain severly restricted as well. In Latvia and Estonia, authorities have cracked down on leaders in the Lutheran Church. Baptists and Pentacostals in Estonia and Latvia have also suffered at the hands of the Soviets. And in Lithuania, religious freedoms of the congregants and religious leaders of the officially registered Catholic Church are extremely restricted. The government interferes with the appointment of faculty and acceptance of applicants to the only Seminary allowed in Lithuania. Activist priests remain

IMPRISONED, AND A LITHUANIAN BISHOP HAS BEEN IN EXILE FOR SOME 26 YEARS FOR REFUSING TO COLLABORATE WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS.

SOVIET REPRESSION MANIFESTS ITSELF IN OTHER WAYS TOO. HELSINKI '86 MEMBERS AND OTHERS ARE STILL HARASSED FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES. THE FORCED TEACHING OF RUSSIAN IS THE NORM IN SCHOOLS IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. PERSONAL FREEDOMS, SUCH AS THE FREEDOM OF TRAVEL, ARE SEVERELY RESTRICTED. THE GOVERNMENT CAUSES MASSES OF RUSSIANS TO RELOCATE IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. AND THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO CRUSH THE INDIVIDUAL AND SEPARATE CULTURES AS WELL AS THE TRADITIONS OF THOSE LIVING IN THE BALTIC STATES.

THE PEOPLE OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS LONG FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS GUARANTEED IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. BUT THEY HAVE BEEN DENIED THOSE RIGHTS SINCE THE SOVIETS ILLEGALLY SEIZED, OCCUPIED, AND INCORPORATED THE BALTIC REPUBLICS IN 1940. THOSE LIVING THE BALTIC REPUBLICS DESIRE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHART THEIR OWN COURSE FOR THE FUTURE. THEY WANT TO LIVE THEIR LIVES FREE FROM THE THREATS OF GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT AND PERSECUTION.

LAST WEEK THE SENATE AGAIN SPOKE OUT AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. IT APPROVED AN AMENDMENT THAT I WAS PLEASED TO COSPONSOR WHICH CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A STATEMENT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS ON JULY 26, 1988 THAT REAFFIRMS U.S. NONRECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES.

WE MUST BE RELENTLESS IN OPPOSING THE SOVIET'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. WE MUST CONTINUE TO SEND A

LOUD AND CLEAR MESSAGE TO THE SOVIETS. THE SOVIETS MAY TRY TO SILENCE THE VOICES OF ITS OWN CITIZENS, BUT THEY CANNOT SILENCE US. WE ARE THEIR VOICE. AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST OPPRESSION IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS FOR THE SAKE OF THE FREEDOMS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DIGNITY OF ALL ESTONIANS, LATVIANS, AND LITHUANIANS.

THE WITNESSES BEFORE US TODAY KNOW BETTER THAN ANYONE ABOUT SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS BECAUSE THEY WERE THE VICTIMS. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES AND INSIGHTS ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS.

Chairman HOYER. Senator, before you leave, and I know the Senator has to get back to the Senate, but I think your message was very timely, and before you go, we were given the message that the activity of the Commission, of Members of the Senate, Members of the House, the President, all are very important to the continuing effort in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Thank you, Senator.

At this time I would like to recognize Congressman John Miller of Washington.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to express my appreciation to you for holding this hearing and for inviting me to participate.

My colleague, Congressman Feighan, mentioned earlier how the House has passed a resolution, just a couple of weeks ago, protesting the lack of religious liberty in Lithuania and calling on the Soviet Union to comply with the Helsinki agreements. That resolution passed the House by a vote of 400 to nothing, which I think gives some idea of the support that it enjoyed.

This year Congressman Feighan and I have co-chaired a group on religious liberty in Lithuania, and so we are very concerned with the struggle that goes on there, as well as the struggle that goes on in all of the Baltic States.

Last August 23, there were "Black Ribbon Day" observances throughout our country. In my hometown of Seattle, Americans whose families come from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joined with other Americans who had no family ties to protest what happened August 23 over 40 years ago to the Baltic Republics.

So, Mr. Chairman, again, I look forward to the statements. I have another committee meeting that I am going to have to go to, but I will be here for a while, and I know we will all benefit from the information that is brought to us about the current situation in the Baltic Republics.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Congressman Miller, for that statement and also for your leadership and work on this particular issue.

It is my understanding that Mr. Madisson believed that James misspelled his name; is that correct, that he dropped an "S" somewhere along the line?

We have a famous Madison ourselves.

Let me take this opportunity also to introduce Dr. Parming who is acting as the interpreter for Mr. Madisson. It is important for me to introduce Dr. Parming because he is a professor at the University of Maryland, which is not only in the State of Maryland, but also in my district. It is politically very important to us in glasnost over here that we recognize our constituents. He also resides in Maryland.

Mr. Madisson, in your remarks you referred to Baltic unity. Now, Estonia differs greatly in language from Latvia and Lithuania. On the other hand, Estonia and Latvia have been traditional Protestants in their religious faith, while Lithuania is strongly Catholic.

Despite these obvious differences, is there, in fact, still unity in the Baltic States, a strong feeling of togetherness?

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. The unity of the Baltic people is certainly there. It has historical roots, especially in the common fight for independence in the 20th century when all three of the Baltic people became independent nations.

During the subsequent period, there were a lot of warm feelings among the three Baltic people towards each other because we have come to share a common fate as captive people.

The commonality in the political opposition activities really reaches back into the 1960's, due to the fact that the KGB put many of the Baltic political activists into the same imprisonment camps and sent them in common to the Gulag. These contacts have become even stronger afterwards. They have been maintained, and this became quite evident during the events that took place on the 23rd of August.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

I am going to try to just take 5 minutes. I want to tell the other members of the panel, and so we will try to keep it short.

Mr. Madisson, we understand that there was resistance, but, in fact, there were Estonians employed to do clean-up work at Chernobyl. Does Mr. Madisson have any information or observations on that?

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. Very many Balts especially were sent to Chernobyl, and from Estonia alone, there appears to have been an over-representation of all Soviet people sent there for clean-up. There were from Estonia two regiments of people sent. The consequences of this for people have been quite negative, especially the radiation consequences for white blood counts.

Chairman HOYER. How big is a regiment?

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. About 2,000 people.

Chairman HOYER. So there were about maybe 4,000 Estonians?

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. It's hard to say if 4,000 were Estonian because a regimental base included a few hundred permanent cadre military who may have been Russian.

It should be added, that within the first days after the Chernobyl disaster, people were forcibly taken from work under the pretense of mobilization and sent to work there.

Also, it's important to keep in mind that among the Estonians that were sent to Chernobyl, there was active resistance at the site after the Soviet officers or responsible officials changed the length of the tour of duty from 1½ to 6 months. This reaction by the Estonians there, this resistance at Chernobyl, ended after a commission of 10 generals arrived from Moscow and people were threatened to be put before military courts martial.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

At this time I would like to recognize Congressman Richardson.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, in keeping with your 5-minute rule, I am going to state my three brief questions to all of the witness so each can choose to answer all of the questions or just one of the three, and then just one short, specific one to Mr. Skuodis.

The two general questions are, first of all, the Soviet Union is lobbying very hard for a human rights conference to take place in the Soviet Union. My question is: Do you think the United States should participate, and if so, under what conditions?

Second, I wondered if one or each of you could talk about your view of Mr. Gorbachev's "perestroika." Will it have any lasting effect on the Baltic States?

My last questions to Mr. Skuodis of Lithuania is: What do you think the real reason is that the Soviet Union opposes a visit by the Pope? Is it that there will be a massive demonstration of support, or is it simply because of the stated view that they are concerned about the lack of recognition of the Soviet Union by the Vatican?

Mr. Chairman, my questions have taken less than 30 seconds. Now it is up to the witnesses.

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. If such a thing took place in Moscow, it would be a great propaganda achievement, and in his opinion if the Western states were to participate, it should be under only very specified and stringent conditions.

The first demand should be that sovereignty be restored to the three Baltic States and to the other people of the Soviet Union whose sovereignty and independence have been usurped by the Soviet Union.

I will give an example of this. Just 2, 3 weeks before my own departure, a KGB officer was having a conversation with Lagle Parek, who is one of the people who was mentioned as an Estonian human rightist in my testimony. The KGB officer said to Lagle Parek, "First you organized the demonstrations, and now the West will demand that sovereignty be restored to the Baltic countries. And why now might this not be done?"

The people in the West have surely noticed by now that the attempts at the propaganda from Moscow in regard to holding the human rights meeting in Moscow, which would be a great achievement from Moscow in terms of propaganda in trying to gain recognition from the world as if Moscow honored and lived up to human rights commitments which, in fact, it does not.

In my opinion, there should not be any contact with a regime that has committed such heinous crimes against humanity.

Mr. SILARAUPS [through interpreter]. Mr. Madisson said very much, and he basically took away my words because I essentially agree with what he just said.

One demand or one compromise that I feel that the Soviets would have to agree to if this conference would take place would be to allow all human rights activists in the Baltic States as well as in the West to actively participate in the conference in Moscow, and if they do not agree to these demands, in my view this kind of conference could not take place. It would not be feasible.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Thank you.

Mr. Skuodis.

Mr. SKUODIS [through interpreter]. I believe that because the Soviets are lobbying so intensely on behalf of this conference it leads me to believe that the Soviets are obviously looking out for their own interests and want to use this conference for propaganda purposes. That is why the United States has to be very cautious the way it approaches this proposition.

This conference should only take place in Moscow, if Moscow adheres faithfully to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, and I have plenty of facts contrary to this. There are many instances of

violations of the Helsinki Final Act in the Soviet Union and particularly in Lithuania.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Congressman Feighan.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Skuodis, I would like to ask you several questions regarding human rights violations and the lack of religious freedom in Lithuania.

I referred earlier to the resolution passed by Congress in September, urging recognition of human rights and religious freedoms in Lithuania. As you may know, there was a response in the Soviet news to that resolution. The Soviet press essentially argued that the U.S. Congress passed this resolution in order to deflect public attention from human rights violations that exist in the United States.

But then the Soviet press continued further to say that religious freedom, which is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, is very much recognized, particularly in Lithuania. The Soviet press reported that a survey had been conducted among Roman Catholics in Lithuania which found that 91 percent of the respondents denied that authorities interfered with the performance of religious rites; that 95 percent of those surveyed said that church buildings were immaculately maintained; and that 85 percent of the respondents said that they had religious books that had been published in Soviet Lithuania.

I would be very interested to hear your reaction, Mr. Skuodis, to these published reports from TASS.

Mr. SKUODIS [through interpreter]. I am firmly convinced that the majority of Lithuanian people received this resolution passed by the U.S. Congress with great joy and happiness. When I was sitting in labor camp along with Rolands Silaraups, who was there for a brief time, as prisoners we were very much pleased with President Reagan's description of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." This is really true.

All the argumentation against this particular resolution is an absolute lie. As I was working at the University of Vilnius, I began to write a study called "Spiritual Genocide in Lithuania," which dealt specifically with this issue. I compiled a list of atheistic publications which have been published in the Soviet Union during the past 36 years. This study encompassed the time period of June 15, 1940, from the very beginning of the occupation of Lithuania, through 1976.

It is ironic that I was accused for using the atheist Soviet sources themselves and was charged with putting in jeopardy the Marxist-Leninist indoctrination of the Lithuanian people.

I was able to do a comparative analysis of atheist literature versus the publication of religious literature, using weight statistics, by tonnage. The conclusion I came to was that the weight of the Soviet atheist literature reached 1,700 tons, whereas religious literature, only 9 tons.

In my study, I concluded that the Soviets had no arguments to convince the people that God is dead. Not a single encyclopedia carried the biographies of these authors of atheistic literature,

showing that the quality of the people who wrote these atheist articles and publications was very poor.

And the study concluded that the so-called scientific atheism of the Soviet Union has absolutely no scientific basis. Most of the atheistic literature was used to publish slanderous attacks against priests and especially the Vatican.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask each of the witnesses about the demonstrations which took place in August. Could you briefly describe for us, to the best of your own personal knowledge or based on information that you have received from your contacts, the exact nature of those demonstrations in terms of how many people were present, of the conduct of the police during the demonstrations, why you think the Soviet authorities allowed the demonstrations to take place, and what retaliation was taken against those who organized or participated?

Chairman HOYER. Congressman Feighan, if I may interrupt, I understand that there is a tape of the demonstrations.

Mr. KALNINS. It is the June 14 demonstration.

Chairman HOYER. It is the June 14th. How long does that take, perhaps as an antecedent to the question?

Mr. KALNINS. I could show it in about 3 minutes.

Chairman HOYER. Let's look at that tape now if you would like. I would suggest that the audience would like to have an opportunity to see it as well.

Mr. KALNINS. This tape was taken on June 14. We do not know who the cameraman was, but the events of June 14 were very similar to what happened on August 23.

[Whereupon, a video was shown.]

Mr. KALNINS [continuing]. This is the Freedom Monument in the center of Riga. It was built in independent Latvia in 1935. It is in the busiest intersection of Riga.

What they are showing here is that about a week before the announced demonstrations, Soviet authorities hastily organized their own official event at the monument. They had dances, and they also had bicycle races, and I will just speed through that, but these are all organizers.

This is the procession here. Here are several thousand Latvians marching toward the monument on June 14 with flowers in their hands. There are thousands of people on both sides, who the Soviets claim were there for the bicycle races.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Now, there was no police interruption of this?

Mr. KALNINS. There were police there, but they did not interfere.

Mr. SILARAUPS [through interpreter]. No, during the demonstrations themselves, they did not interfere at all.

Mr. KALNINS. You can see there are people applauding on both sides of the crowd. There are also people applauding on the sidewalk alongside of the procession, and as Rolands explained earlier, the procession had gone for about two blocks, and as it got closer to the monument, more and more people joined.

At this point I will move through this quickly. They are presently unfurling a banner that reads "In Honor of the Victims of June 14," which is the date of the Stalinist deportation from the free Baltic States, and this is right at the base of the monument.

The monument reads "To Fatherland and Freedom."

And at that point Rolands had asked the people in the crowd to begin to come toward the monument to place flowers there, and several of the people at the beginning of the crowd opened up banners, and these banners read "God Bless Latvia," and that happens to be the opening line of the independent hymn of independent Latvia.

There was a moment of silence at this point, and apparently as soon as they had this moment of silence, loud speakers in the park started blaring music all around. The loud speakers had been set up for the sports festival, and as soon as that was interrupted, the people all stood up and started singing Latvian nationalist songs, and they drowned out the loud speakers.

This is just to give you an idea of the string of people who started going to the monument after this to place flowers there.

Mr. SILARAUPS [through interpreter]. The actual placing of flowers took place for about an hour, an hour for all of the people to get to the monument and place their flowers there. However, people continued to place flowers at the monument for the next 3 days after this date, and each night the militia would clear away the flowers that had been placed there, and the next morning people would bring them back.

His estimate is that right at this moment at least over 5,000 people actively participated in the demonstration.

Mr. KALNINS. This is basically the end of it, but I just wanted to give you an idea as you look at the crowd approaching the monument, I think you will notice that the vast majority of the people in the crowd are under 30 years of age. There are some older people, but there are very many young people and teenagers.

That is basically it.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Now, if the witnesses could now comment on Congressman Feighan's question with reference to the August 23 demonstration.

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. I would like to point out first that I was also in Riga on the 14th of June, and there were other Estonians there in the crowd, as well. These events of the 14th of June, where I also met the Latvian witness, Mr. Silaraups, these events were like a torch which helped flame sentiments throughout the Baltic. So it was an important, bold demonstration in Riga.

We could name that June 14 demonstration as a joint enterprise in the sense that there were participants also from Estonia and Lithuania present. In the old days, Riga was considered sort of the capital of the Baltic region, the most important city.

Turning now to the 23rd of August events that you asked about, 2 days before these demonstrations, on the 21st of August, I was asked to come to the Municipal Council of Tallinn to talk about these planned demonstrations. The Deputy Mayor of Tallinn, Comrade Choclorad [phonetic], was rather surprised when I could not confirm to him what the size of the crowd or the number of participants would be in our planned demonstration. For the May Day celebrations, he said, "they could always tell a long time in advance exactly how many people were going to participate."

We were not allowed to conduct our demonstration in the place where we had announced it, which was the City Hall, but instead

had to go to Hirve Park because presumably there was going to be some filming done at the City Hall plaza.

It was impossible for us within the space of 2 days then, due to the absence of media for spreading information, and certainly we could not appeal to the Voice of America in 2 days to do this for us, in getting the word out about the changed location.

When I arrived on the 23rd of August in the City Hall plaza at 12:00 noon, then Colonel Kask, who was the Deputy Minister of the Interior, with shaking hands, so to speak, with some display of agitation, asked me to get the people who had come to the plaza away from there.

According to somebody who was an observer, and based on our calculations, considering how many people passed by in 10 minutes, we feel that there were 5,000 to 7,000 people present at this demonstration. We also were able to estimate crowd size from photographs taken at the demonstration.

In Hirve Park at the demonstration rally, there were seven major speakers who demanded condemnation of Stalinist atrocities, the condemnation of the Stalin Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the making of that pact public.

Many KGB functionaries were present at Hirve Park who, however, did not actively hinder the demonstration, although the participants were very extensively filmed and photographed.

As the main organizer of the event, I also called—there at Hirve Park—upon our opposition or our opponents, the officials present, to speak, but none of them volunteered or dared to speak in spite of the fact that they were present. Many people were at the park whose primary function or special purpose there had been to see that the whole event would not succeed.

Also present were signs made by members of the Communist Youth League which called for the condemnation of fascism and the removal of U.S. missiles, and so forth, the intent of which obviously was to direct attention via the Soviet mass media away from the true purpose of this event in Hirve Park.

It turned out afterwards that volunteers could not be found within the Communist Youth League to carry these signs at Hirve Park, and we heard that people who did so afterwards were paid 15 rubles, each, for their work.

It was a very big surprise to the officials of how many signs and other rally banners we the organizers had. This was held against me afterwards as, so to speak, a major crime. I was accused of violating the agreement of the demonstration in this regard, although there had not been any discussions beforehand with officials on the subject of having signs or rally banners.

There were several such placards which demanded self-determination for the Baltic States, to condemn the Molotov-Ribbentrop Agreement, that demanded freedom for human rights activists Niklus and Tarto, and also had the year 1939 with an intersected swastika and hammer and sickle on it.

One person who did speak there from the opposition was somebody who had originally come from Moscow, somebody named Mashva, who has been sent during the war to Estonia for illegal underground activities. He accused those who had gathered of singing Fascist songs, which was nonsense because what the people

were singing were Estonian national songs. He then lamented that it was a disgrace that there were no members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee who had come to Hirve Park for the demonstration, and that he alone coming from Moscow had to defend the honor of Estonian and Soviet socialism.

On that date, there were no direct repressive acts against the participants and organizers, but later party meetings were held and people who had been involved in the organization of the demonstration, at their workplaces, were called, taken to task by their superiors and questioned through them.

We heard afterwards that a special commission from Moscow had come to the Estonian SSR afterwards; that, in fact, the highest leadership of the Communist Party in the Estonian SSR had all received party reprimands. I think one of the reasons there was no repression afterwards was because the Soviet Union wanted to leave the impression that there was now some semblance of democracy in the Soviet Union, as a means for pursuing better economic relations with the West.

One of the things that was very worrisome to our people was that in the official propaganda media attack directed at the organizers after the event, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, in fact, was rather extensively justified. In the Soviet Union during the period of so-called "glasnost" there has been no change with regard to the nationality question.

The Soviet Union could hardly talk about peaceful coexistence as it pertains to Estonia where there are 1 million residents, but 150,000 Soviet military troops, and this makes Estonia one of the most militarized areas in the world.

And he has a map here to show to you on the placement of NATO-Soviet missilery and military facilities.

Chairman HOYER. Do we have that document?

Mr. MADISSON [through interpreter]. The Estonians cannot visit all of their own territory. One needs all types of special permission to visit coastal areas and the islands. Due to this situation, it is apparent that during a major nuclear war, Estonia would become a major nuclear target for calamity, and as such, all of Estonia is a Soviet hostage.

Chairman HOYER. I want to say that I have about 15 questions that I would like to ask and unfortunately cannot ask any of them because as you will see from the light back there, the House is about to go into session, and we are going to have a vote, I think, probably right after 12 o'clock. So we are going to have to conclude this hearing, and I apologize to the witnesses because there is an awful lot of information that I would like to get.

Mr. KALNINS. If I could just make one brief statement for the record, Mr. Silaraups did not put it in his statement, but he thought you should be aware that when he left the Soviet Union, he did not leave of his own will, but arrangements were made for his departure by the KGB, and that he was given a visa to Israel.

Now, he is not Jewish. He does not have Jewish relatives or Jewish blood, and it is his view that this is an attempt by the Soviets to increase the so-called "Jewish quota," and that many Balts are being expelled or emigrated from the Soviet Union, and that

these figures are being used to increase the number of Jewish emigrants, when, in fact, he has a visa to Israel, and he is not Jewish.

He feels that this is also a violation of the rights of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Madisson added that the same thing happened to him, that those documents were turned over to the Swedish Embassy in Moscow.

Chairman HOYER. We would like to have copies of those documents, and I would like to have them today because I intend to mention that to Ambassador Kashlev in Vienna on Friday.

Ms. DAMUSIS. Also, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Skuodis wants to emphasize that something has been mistakenly reported in the international press, as well as by the panel itself today, namely that only 500 participants took part in the demonstration in Vilnius. In the Soviet press they reported an amount ranging from 30 people to 2 to 300.

Mr. Skuodis wishes to state for the record that close to 5,000 people participated at the demonstrations in Vilnius. They came in waves, and stayed for part of the day, listened to the speeches, and then went on their way.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much.

Dr. PARMING. Mr. Hoyer, those documents of Mr. Madisson are not at the Swedish Embassy in Moscow, but he turned them over to the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm in Sweden.

Chairman HOYER. All right. Mr. Finnerty will be getting that information because the observation that it is an attempt to inflate the Jewish emigration figures is a very interesting one, and any documentation we have of that, and I know we have documentation particularly in your case, but any information you may have on related cases, I think, would be very useful to us.

We would like to get that because, as I told you at the beginning, I am going to Vienna on Thursday and will be meeting with Ambassador Kashlev, who is the Soviet Ambassador and representative at the Vienna review conference, and I want to raise that question with him.

Let me say to each of our witnesses, you represent a combined population of something over 7 million people. In the scheme of things in terms of the size of the Soviet Union and the size of the United States, that though it may appear to be a small number, it is a very significant number. It is a number which represents a significant number of human rights abuses, and substantial failure to comply to the Helsinki Final Act.

As a number of Commission members have observed privately and have also said publicly, this is a particularly important hearing because all of you have so recently come out of either Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, and therefore, your testimony is particularly important, compelling and timely.

On behalf of all members of the Commission, I want to assure you that we will continue to be as active, as adamant, and as vociferous as we can be with respect to your individual concerns and the concerns of the Baltic States. We appreciate the observation that the activity on our part in some small way adds to the efforts that you and others like you in your homelands have so coura-

geously pursued. Your activity makes a strong and compelling statement to the world on behalf of freedom and justice.

And so we thank you very, very much for joining us.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:59 a.m., the Commission was adjourned.]

APPENDIX I

6 OCTOBER 1987

SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO

OPENING STATEMENT

HELSINKI COMMISSION HEARING ON

HUMAN RIGHTS AND RECENT EVENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I WANT TO COMMEND YOU AND AND OUR DISTINGUISHED CO-CHAIRMAN, MY COLLEAGUE FROM ARIZONA, FOR SCHEDULING A HEARING TO EXAMINE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES. EVENTS IN THESE WESTERN-ORIENTED STATES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AN IMPORTANT BAROMETER OF EVENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

IN 1940, SOVIET FORCES INVADED LATVIA, LITHUANIA, AND ESTONIA. SOVIET POLITICAL AUTHORITIES THEN ENGINEERED THE FORCIBLE INCORPORATION OF THESE STATES INTO THE SOVIET UNION. THESE EVENTS WERE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SECRET PROTOCOLS TO THE VON RIBBENTROP - MOLOTOV NON-AGGRESSION PACT, THE INFAMOUS DEAL BETWEEN STALIN AND HITLER WHICH FREED BOTH DICTATORS TO PURSUE POLICIES OF EUROPEAN AGGRESSION.

THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED THE INCORPORATION OF THESE INDEPENDENT NATIONS INTO THE SOVIET EMPIRE. OUR POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION HAS BEEN A BEACON OF HOPE TO THOSE IN THE BALTIC STATES WHO DREAM AND WORK TO REGAIN TRUE INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIET DOMINATION.

SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO
6 OCTOBER 1987

THE DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH OCCURRED IN RIGA, LATVIA, AND TALLINN, ESTONIA, THIS SUMMER PROVE THAT THE BALTIC PEOPLES' LOVE FOR LIBERTY IS NOT DEAD. THEIR DESIRE TO RECLAIM THEIR BASIC RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAS NOT BEEN CRUSHED, DESPITE THE MORE-THAN-FOUR-DECADES' EFFORTS OF THE SOVIET KGB AND ITS PREDECESSORS.

WE ARE GATHERED HERE THIS MORNING TO HEAR TESTIMONY FROM SEVERAL OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN VERY CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THESE EVENTS. THEIR VIEWS WILL BE VERY HELPFUL TO US AS WE ATTEMPT TO FORM A CLEARER PICTURE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

WHAT ARE THE LIMITS OF GLASNOST? IS GORBACHEV TRULY INTERESTED IN IMPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLIANCE? ARE REFORMS SUPPOSEDLY INTENDED TO MAKE THE SOVIET CRIMINAL CODE OPERATE IN A JUST AND FAIR MANNER REAL? IS THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN TO ESTABLISH A REAL BASIS FOR "SOCIALIST JUSTICE" MORE THAN PROPAGANDA FOR FOREIGN CONSUMPTION?

SOVIET AUTHORITIES' TREATMENT OF THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE BALTIC STATES WHO STAND UP AND SEEK TO EXERCISE THE RIGHTS THEY ARE GUARANTEED UNDER THE HELSINKI ACCORDS PROVIDES A GOOD TEST OF SOVIET PURPOSES. IF THE SOVIET UNION INTENDS TO RIGHT SOME OF THE HISTORIC WRONGS IT HAS COMMITTED AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS AND THE PEOPLES OF NEIGHBORING

STATES, IT CAN MAKE A START BY CHANGING ITS TREATMENT OF THE BALTIC STATES.

I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TALLINN AND RIGA WERE TOLERATED. WHILE THE TOLERANCE WAS GRUDGING AND WAS SWIFTLY FOLLOWED WITH ACTIONS BY THE KGB AND THE MILITIA INTENDED TO DISCOURAGE ANY FURTHER SUCH ACTIVITY, UNDER BREZHNEV, ANDROPOV, OR CHERNENKO, THE MERE ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN MET WITH QUICK ARRESTS, SUMMARY TRIALS, AND LONG TERMS IN LABOR CAMPS OR SPECIAL PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS. THAT DID NOT HAPPEN HERE.

ALONG WITH MY COLLEAGUES ON THE COMMISSION AND IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, I WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY THE MANNER IN WHICH SOVIET AUTHORITIES DEAL WITH CONTINUING EXPRESSIONS BY THE PEOPLES OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA, OF THEIR NATIONAL CULTURES AND ASPIRATIONS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE BALTIC STATES WILL PROVIDE US WITH A USEFUL WINDOW THROUGH WHICH TO WATCH GLASNOST, PERESTROIKA, AND GORBACHEV'S "NEW THINKING" IN ACTION.

I JOIN WITH THE WITNESSES TESTIFYING BEFORE US TODAY IN SUPPORTING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BALTIC STATES. I HOPE WE WILL ALL LIVE TO SEE AGAIN THE EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY BY THE PEOPLES OF THESE STATES OVER BOTH THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, SO THAT THEY MAY LIVE IN LIBERTY AND

SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO
6 OCTOBER 1987

FREEDOM AND PLAY THE PART IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SO LONG AND SO CRUELLY DENIED THEM BY SOVIET POWER.

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN.

APPENDIX II

STENY H. HOYER, MARYLAND, CHAIRMAN

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COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING ANNEX 2
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

(202) 225-1901

October 19, 1987

Mr. Tiit Madisson
c/o Mary-Ann Rikken
4049 25th Street, N.
Arlington, VA 22207

Dear Mr. Madisson:

Chairman Hoyer has asked me to convey his appreciation for your valuable testimony before the Commission on Security and Cooperation on October 6 last, and as he indicated at the time of the hearing, wishes to submit the following questions for your written response:

1. What is the situation with religious freedom in Estonia? Are you familiar with any changes in the treatment of believers since Mr. Gorbachev came to power?

2. We understand that there is a disproportionate number of military installations in Estonia. Is this true? Does this cause any hardship for the Estonian people?

3. Could you comment on the effect of the Soviet occupation on the character of the Estonian people?

4. Do you think there is sympathy for the national movement among Estonian Communist Party officials?

5. Do you think Gorbachev's "perestroika" will have any lasting effect on the Baltic peoples? Do you think the Soviet Empire could ever grant freedom to the Baltic states?

We hope that you will be able to provide us with the answers to these questions at your earliest possible convenience. If you have any further questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at 202-225-1901.

Sincerely,

John J. Finerty, Jr.
CSCE Staff

APPENDIX III

ESTONIAN AMERICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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Locally: P.O. Box 184
Arlington, VA 22210
243-1261

November 9, 1987

The Honorable Steny Hoyer
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Attn: Mr. John Finerty

Dear Mr. Hoyer:

Per your request, enclosed are Mr. Tiit Madisson's responses to the six supplemental questions for which there was not enough time at the CSCE hearing on October 6.

3. We understand that Estonia is bristling with Soviet military installations and hardware. Is this true? Does it cause any hardship for the Estonian people?

The Soviets have stationed over 150,000 occupation troops in Estonia, a country of slightly over one million people. That works out to one Soviet soldier for every 6.67 Estonian men, women, and children. In the larger Estonian cities and towns (Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu, Rakvere, and especially Tapa) whole neighborhoods are given over to house the troops and their families. Relations between the Soviet occupational forces and the Estonians are very bad: the Soviets are taught to hate the Estonians and Estonian culture. The Russian soldiers and their families never learn Estonian or anything about Estonia, keeping themselves apart from the local population.

There have been many incidents of vandalism and destruction of Estonian cultural and historical sites and artifacts attributed to a chauvinistic Russian organization "Molodaja Rossija (Young Russia)". Parts of an open air museum have been burned to the ground, a nearly completed church restoration destroyed, gravestones and markers broken and overturned in old cemeteries. Most of the members of "Molodaja Rossija" are the sons of Russian soldiers stationed in Estonia.

The Soviets exhibit a marked distrust of Estonians. No Estonians are permitted into certain "secure" areas of their own country; whole Estonian islands as well as coastal areas and towns are off-limits to the Estonian people. Missile bases in Estonia are areas where people can be shot on sight or arrested and automatically sent to the Gulag with no explanation or excuse being considered. No demonstration at or penetration of these facilities, as we hear the U.S. anti-nuclear movement periodically undertakes, is in any way possible. Estonians are rarely permitted to become officers in the Soviet military. In fact no Estonians are promoted beyond the rank of lieutenant.

You asked for a copy of the map showing Soviet military installations in Estonia. It, along with other statistical information on the military occupation, is attached.

4. Could you comment on the effect of the Soviet occupation on the character of the Estonian people?

A great deal of cynicism has developed among the Estonian people - no one believes the official party line or the promises from Communist authorities. Glasnost is viewed as just talk. As yet there have been no improvements for the common man, in fact the gap between the party elite and the workers is visibly widening. No one wants to do any real work for the government. There is also a great sense of despair which is reflected even in the faces of the people. Estonians have become quite somber. There is a lot of tension in the air; frequently, while waiting in line, for example, one sees shoving matches or shouting arguments erupt. These scuffles are usually between Russians and Estonians.

Estonians have always been a hardworking, industrious, and honest people with a deep love for music and for their land. If Estonia were to regain its independence, I think these characteristics would resurface. In fact, one can see evidence of this even now - although at their official jobs the people do just enough to get by, the effort and dedication they put into projects at their own homes is phenomenal.

5. We understand that Finnish television can be received and understood in some parts of Estonia. Do these broadcassts have any effect on Estonian political awareness? Do Soviet authorities see any threat in this "window on the West?"

The greatest importance of Finnish TV for Estonians is as a source of information. For example, we knew about the Chernobyl disaster and its potential threat to us almost immediately; the Soviet authorities did not even announce it until several days had passed.

In this regard, all the Western broadcasts we hear are extremely important, whether it be RFE, VOA, Deutsche Welle or BBC. RFE provides the most interesting programming, but is so badly jammed by the Soviets, that it is all but impossible to hear. VOA has some good programming, but does not give us enough information on what is happening in our own country and in the rest of the Soviet Union. Only through the Western broadcasts can we hear about nationalistic or anti-Soviet events in Armenia, Kazhakstan, and so forth. We also have a great interest in political commentary, analysis and discussion regarding any developments in the Soviet Union.

Finnish TV also gives us a chance to compare life in the West with life in the "workers' paradise." In the years 1939-40, Estonia and Finland were about equal in their standard of living and quality of life; now, under Communism, Estonia has fallen hopelessly behind. We can see this painfully and clearly from watching ordinary Finnish TV programs.

6. You referred in your statement to Nazi and Stalinist war criminals. Some of the persons who carried out Stalin's brutal policies against the Baltic peoples are still alive, as well as Estonians who were deported to Siberia or the Gulag, or lost loved ones as a result of the occupation. Could you contrast the lives of Stalin's henchmen in Estonia and those of his victims?

The Stalinist butchers are still held in high esteem, many of them receive substantial pensions from the government. On the other hand, those who were repressed by Stalin, those who were in the gulag until they were allowed to return home in 1954-56 after Stalin's death, are still viewed with suspicion as "unreliable" by the KGB. This is so, even though at both the XX and the XXII Party Congresses, there was talk about illegal repressions and punishments of some individuals having taken place during the Stalininst years. No Stalinist war criminals have been brought to justice for their crimes against the Estonian people and against humanity.

In this regard, we heard with profound dismay and deep depression about the extradition/deportation of Karl Linnas to Soviet-occupied Estonia. Not only has the United States given undeserved moral and legal credibility to the Soviets, but we feel that this act of turning over a citizen of the free and independent Republic of Estonia to the illegal occupation forces in Estonia has weakened the United States' foreign policy of not recognizing the forcible annexation of the three Baltic countries.

Further, this was a great propaganda coup for the KGB, which was able to show the world that it can extend its terror anywhere, even into the heart of America, to punish anyone who fought or fights against the Soviets. We were genuinely puzzled as to why the trial could not have been held in the United States, the country whom we trust to protect Estonian interests during this period of Soviet occupation.

7. You mentioned that the City Council of Tallinn did give you permission to stage the demonstration, albeit with a change of location. Do you think there is sympathy for the national movement among Estonian communist party officials?

Among the middle and lower level Communist officials there are those who sympathize with the nationalistic movement. Among the higher level officials, if there is such sympathy, it cannot be expressed without fatal, career-ending consequences. We did not receive permission for our demonstration because of such sympathies, however. In this instance, it was more of a case of local officials being forced to live up to the new openness that Gorbachev is promoting. It is not sincere, but the illusion must be maintained, even internally.

8. Do you think Gorbachev's "perestroika" will have any lasting effect on the condition of the Baltic peoples? Do you think the Soviet Empire could ever grant freedoom to the Baltic States?

Historically, every empire has fallen. We need to keep pushing for more and more reforms - even though few will be actually carried out. Because when the Soviet authorities see that the Estonian people are united on some issue, such as opposing the environmentally hazardous phosphate mining plan, they do yield a bit. It is clear that if there were no opposition at all, things would be much worse in Estonia. We need to proceed at a careful pace, building our strength and developing courage among the Estonian people in general. Just as finally it became too embarrassing for the Soviets not to permit three-year-old Kaisa Randpere to join her parents in Sweden, someday the Soviet Union will find that it is to their benefit to free the Baltic States.

Sincerely,
Estonian American National Council

Mari-Ann Rikken
Vice-President

Relief Centre for Estonian Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR, Box 34018, 100 26 Stockholm, Sweden

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SOVIET MILITARY BASES IN ESTONIA

Navy

About 30 warships and 12 submarines,
part of them nuclear-powered

Warships	Tallinn Paldiski
Submarines, incl. nuclear-powered submarines	Paldiski Naissaar

Missile bases

26 missile bases, 3 of them SS-20

Suurupi	Tõrva
Hiiumaa (2,SS-20)	Viljandi (2)
Saaremaa (12)	Aegviidu
Muhu-island	Tapa (SS-20)
Valga	Rakvere
Antsla	Kunda (SS-20)
Tartu	

Airfields

31 airfields, 3 of them underground,
with about 350 military airplanes

Tallinn (3)	Tartu (2)
Vääna-Jõesuu	Viljandi (2)
Paldiski (Mig)	Võhma
Vasalemma	Adavere
Hiiumaa	Koigi
Saaremaa (3)	Kuusiku
Haapsalu (2)	Jägala
Lihula	Tapa
Sauga	Haljala
Pärnu	Vainupea
Valga	Kahula
Võru	Narva

Tank bases

9 tank bases with about 300 tanks

Tallinn (4)
Klooga
Paldiski
Pärnu
Võru
Kohtla-Järve

Field artillery

Suurupi
Võru
Kohtla-Järve

Radar stations

Paldiski
Saaremaa
Tartu
Viljandi
Tapa

RELIEF CENTRE FOR ESTONIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR
Box 34018
S-100 26 Stockholm, Sweden

SOVIET OCCUPATION TROOPS IN ESTONIA

Tallinn

Navy	5000
Air force	1500
Tank units (Männiku,Liiva,Raudalu and Odra street)	1500
Frontier-guard troops (Mähe,Tannemäe,Rohuneeme,Kopli etc)	3000
KGB-special forces	1200
MVD`s (Ministry of the Interior) special forces	1300
Harbour-guard troops	500
Mine-harbour	400
Railway troops	400
Transport troops	400
Engineering troops	600
Labour-battalions	3000
Music- and sports companies at Järve-Tondi	200
Bases at Lasnamäe and Veskimetsa	300
Special forces at Rocca al Mare	300
Other units	1600
Tallinn totally	21.200
Naissaar-island (marines and other forces)	5000
Tallinn and Naissaar totally	26.200

In other places

Suurupi (missile base,strategic artillery)	1200
Väänа-Jõesuu (airfield)	500
Keila-Joa (base)	600
Klooga (tank base, engineering troops)	2200
Paldiski (navy, air force, tank units, radar station, engineering troops, Spetsnaz-forces, labour-battalions, other units)	25.000
Pakri-island (frontier-guard troops)	300
Vasalemma (airfield)	1500
Rummu (patrol units for labour camps)	100
Vormsi-island (frontier-guard troops)	100
Hiiumaa (missile bases (2) at Lauka and near Kärdla, airfield at Kärdla, frontier-guard troops, labour-battalions, other units)	3000
Saaremaa (missile bases (12) at Kuressaare, Sõrve etc, airfields at Kuressaare, Kaisvere and Mõnnuste, radar station, frontier-guard troops and special forces at Dejevo and other bases)	10.000
Muhu-island (missile base)	200
Other islands in the Baltic Sea (frontier-guard troops)	1000
Haapsalu (airfields (2), one of them underground, other units)	4500
Lihula (airfield)	1000
Sauga (airfield)	600
Pärnu-region (airfield, tank units, transport troops, labour-battalions, other units)	6000

Valga-region (missile base, airfield, other units)	4000
Antsla (missile base)	200
Võru-region (airfield, tank units, artillery units, engineering troops)	3500
Põlva-region (engineering troops, labour-battalions, other units)	1200
Tartu-region (missile base, airfields (2), one of them partly underground, another at Ülenurme, radar station, other units)	9000
Tõrva (missile base)	200
Viljandi-region (missile bases (2) at Viljandi and Mäeküla, airfields (2), radar station, air-borne landing troops, Spetsnaz-forces, other units)	4700
Võhma (airfield)	500
Adavere (underground airfield)	800
Jõgeva-region (engineering troops, labour-battalions, other units)	1000
Koigi (airfield)	300
Paide-region (engineering troops, other units)	2500
Kuusiku (airfield)	500
Rapla (engineering troops)	300
Prangli-island (frontier-guard troops)	200
Lagedi (railway troops)	1500
Jägala (airfield, other units)	500
Aegviidu (missile base)	1200
Tapa (missile base, airfield, radar station, railway troops, other units)	4700
Rakvere-region (missile base, engineering troops, labour-battalions, other units)	2200
Haljala (airfield)	500
Loksa (frontier-guard troops)	800
Vainupea (airfield)	500
Kunda (missile base, frontier-guard troops, other units)	1500
Letipea (frontier-guard troops)	100
Kohtla-Järve (tank units, strategic artillery, transport troops, other units)	3000
Kahula (airfield)	500
Toila (frontier-guard troops)	200
Sillamäe (patrol units for uranium mines)	1000
Narva (airfield, frontier-guard troops, other units)	1500
Other places totally	106.400
Soviet troops in Estonia totally	132.600
Family members of the Soviet troops in Estonia	25.000
Grand total of the Soviet occupation troops and their family members in Estonia	157.600

RELIEF CENTRE FOR ESTONIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR
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APPENDIX IV

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COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING ANNEX 2
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-1901

October 19, 1987

Mr. Rolands Silaraups
c/o Ojar Kalnins
American Latvian Association
P. O. Box 4578
Rockville, MD 20850

Dear Mr. Silaraups:

Chairman Hoyer has asked me to convey his appreciation for your valuable testimony before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on October 6, and as he indicated at the time of the hearing, wishes to submit the following questions for your written response:

1. What do you think prompted human and national rights activists to form a Helsinki group in 1986?

2. Are Latvians serving in the Soviet Army in Afghanistan? Is this a topic of discussion among the Latvian people?

3. You mentioned in your statement that Russian immigrants can get an apartment "in a few years time". How long does it take the average Latvian?

4. You also stated that the Latvian people appreciate the broadcasts of Western short-wave radios. Are there any areas that you think should be improved in these broadcasts?

We hope that you will be able to provide us with the answers to these questions at your earliest possible convenience. If you have any further questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at 202-225-1901.

Sincerely,

John J. Finerty, Jr.
CSCE Staff

APPENDIX V

ROLANDS SILARAUPS ANSWERS

1. It is difficult for me to answer this, for I was not among the organizers of HELSINKI 86. Linards Grantins was the founder of the HELSINKI 86 group. However, such a group came about because, to put it simply, people in Latvia could no longer live under such terrible conditions. Since the US-USSR Chautauqua Conference in Jurmala was approaching, Grantins prepared several documents with the intent of informing world opinion about the situation in Latvia. The Conference wasn't the main thing, for Grantins had prepared numerous documents to other people as well, but the main purpose was to make the world aware of what was happening in Latvia. The time had come when people were finally ready to stand up, go out into the open and take a risk, because they could no longer bear the conditions they had to live under. I might add, that at the time HELSINKI 86 was formed people wanted to believe that Gorbachev was different than the others. Therefore, HELSINKI 86 made a number of requests of the new leader to see if he was willing to do something for the good of Latvia, and not just talk about change. They wanted to give the new leader a chance to do something for Latvia, to give it freedom and to give the Latvian people their basic rights.

2. It is known that Latvians are serving in Afghanistan, but unfortunately we cannot give an estimate of how many. That is hidden from us. The Latvian people talk about Afghanistan a great deal. People talk about a great deal about incidents there. Some have friends who were wounded in Afghanistan, others were sent themselves, others have received coffins from Afghanistan, others have returned and talked about what they experienced. People talk in general about the Afghan war and all that is taking place. I'd say that the majority of the Latvian people support the Afghan freedom fighters. Clearly, it is a difficult situation for a Latvian to have to go to Afghanistan to fight against these people, but otherwise, if he refuses to go, he must sit in prison. Thus, Latvians go reluctantly because they are forced to go.

3. In principle, the time it takes for a Latvian to get an apartment depends upon the individual. If a person is capable of paying an unimaginable large amount of money in order exchange an apartment with someone else, then it may happen sooner. But this is rare. Through official, legal channels, it is virtually impossible for an average Latvian to get a new apartment from the government. He has to wait more than ten years. That is a fact. Sometimes it depends on where you work. At some places of employment you wait longer, at others the wait is shorter. But principally, no Latvian can get an apartment quickly. He he has to wait at least ten years, and usually even longer. Being in the Communist Party alone does not help one get an apartment, although if you are an active member of the Party, that might help. It is well known that Russians do not have this problem in Latvia. You can see this with the newly built apartment buildings. Latvians, for example, live in shabby, old hovels and wait years and years to move. Russians, however, arrive in Latvia and are immediately put into the new apartments. The vast majority of the residents in the newly built neighborhoods are Russians.

4. I can give one example of concern. Before the June 14 demonstration in Riga, HELSINKI 86 released several documents to the West, in which we invited the Latvian people to participate in the demonstration. It is my understanding that the management of the Western radio broadcasts forbid the broadcast of the full text of these documents. Supposedly, there was fear that this would incite people to demonstrate. I would simply like to say this: all we asked was that these documents be read over the airwaves. That does not mean that the radio stations themselves were inviting people to demonstrate, for we, the group HELSINKI 86 in Latvia, were the ones who were doing the inviting. And, if after the demonstration, the Russians claim that it was the radio stations which invited the people to demonstrate, that can be easily countered. After all, who is to be believed, the Russians, who have always lied to the Americans and tried to deceive them? Therefore one suggestion would be for the radio stations to do there job as it should be done, and not to listen to the Communists and their followers.

Concerning the contents of broadcasts, speaking for myself, I would like to say that I especially appreciated the editorials on Voice of America, where for five minutes or so they expressed the opinions of the American government. I liked this very much. Also the news is very good. However, in the Latvian language broadcasts, I wish there was more information about Baltic issues in particular, and no so much about other world events, such as those in Africa or other countries. They could inform us directly about America itself, that would be good, or give us news events in Latvia. This applies to Radio Free Europe as well. For you see, the people in Latvia are not interested in, for example, cultural life in India. They can get that kind of information from other sources. What they are interested in is what is happening in America and Latvia. Also, it would be good if there were more frequent broadcasts to Latvia. We don't need longer programs, for the present length is very good. Just more programs at different times so people have more of a chance to pick up the broadcasts. Half hour lengths are excellent.

Translated by Ojars Kalnins